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AN
IRISH CATHOLIC'S
ADVICE
TO HIS
BRETHREN,
HOW TO
ESTIMATE THEIR PRESENT SITUATION,
AND REPEL
FRENCH INVASION, CIVIL WARS,
AND
SLAVERY.

BY DENYS SCULLY, ESQ; BARRISTER AT LAW.

A new Edition.

WITH A PREFACE, NOTES, AND AN APPENDIX,
By a Member of the Imperial Parliament.

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SANTA BARBARA

PREFACE.

THE EDITOR of this Pamphlet assures the Public, that he has had it Re-published with Notes and Appendixes, for no other Purpose, but to refute the groundless Calumnies and gross Misrepresentations contained in it, and to shew the Roman Catholics (the Majority of whom he is convinced are Loyal) the Excellence of our Constitution, and the Justice and Mildness of the present Administration, who have shewn unabated Zeal to conciliate all Orders.

AN

IRISH CATHOLIC'S

ADVICE

TO HIS BRETHREN, &c.

MY COUNTRYMEN;

I ADDRESS you with a heart full of devotion to your welfare, and deeply interested in the destiny of our common Country; that beloved Country, where we all have drawn our earliest breath, where our ancestors have flourished in former times, the scene of our own comforts, the object of our hopes, whose honour and happiness it is our solemn duty to guard for ourselves, and to transmit inviolate to our posterity.

I wish, and hope, to rouse and animate you to the defence of our native soil, and to demonstrate to you the dire and intolerable calamities

which impend over and must surely crush us, unless we shall instantly awake from our lethargy, look into our true situation, and act with a spirit, a wisdom, and a promptitude becoming our numbers and our character.

The following sentiments flow from an honest and unbiased survey of our common interests, without the least mixture of solicitude for those of either England or France, farther than as those countries affect our prosperity and independence^a.

If they shall appear, in themselves, reasonable and convincing to your judgments, and shall invigorate your souls with a true affection for our Country at this awful crisis, I seek no other object; I feel no higher ambition.

But, that you may safely confide in the credit and motives of the person who now addresses you, and as you may naturally desire to be first satisfied in that respect, I shall begin by submitting both to your decision, upon their weight and probity. I neither am, (as many of you know) nor is any one of my Family, a Partisan, a Dependant, or a Flatterer of any

^a Here Mr. Scully plainly intimates, that he is as little solicitous about the prosperity of England as of France; and the word independence can admit of no other construction but that of separation; for how can Ireland become independent of Great Britain, with whom she is incorporated by a Legislative Union, but by a complete dissolution of the connection which binds them together.

Government, nor in any wise interested in supporting a single abuse or defect of our political system;—but, like yourselves, I am a true-born Irishman, a Milesian,^b a Catholic, of parents and kindred dwelling amongst you, your friend and brother, allied to no title, or power or party, save yourselves, (if that be a party) identified with you, living in the same habits and comforts, sharing in the same privations, restraints and grievances with my Catholic countrymen.

I feel an honest pride in belonging to a faithful and loyal ^c class of people, who have never deemed any sacrifice of their wishes or resentments too great for their King and their Honour, who have never lost their Dignity, or their temper, with their fortunes, who suffered with manly fortitude a century of unexampled injustice, who vanquished the spirit of Intolerance by subduing their own passions, and finally

^b Jumes alto sanguine Drusorum.

JUVENAL.

We understand that the genealogy of the Scully family, extracted from the Milesian archives, will soon be published by Phelim O'Flannegan, keeper thereof.

^c If the Reader consults Cox or Leland, he will find that his brethren were as loyal in the reigns of Elizabeth, James I. Charles I. and William III. as they were in the years 1798 and 1803.

redeemed themselves from servitude by their wisdom and unbroken energies^d.

We have honourably won our way, with calmness, to our present rank, which (however still somewhat shackled by a remnant of the broken chain) is yet, in my judgment, the most enviable and truly splendid, that the annals of History present.

This is not idle exultation; it is an useful soothng of our souls by the recollection of our merits and those of our Fathers, by a just review of our gradual resurrection in our Country, and by a mutual congratulation of each other upon the Rank and Prosperity which we now enjoy.

My Countrymen, let us manfully preserve that Rank and Prosperity. The moment is at hand, which is to decide, whether we shall be cast from it into far deeper misery than we have emerged from, or be triumphantly conducted to National concord and permanent peace.

The warning voice of our venerable Guide, Arthur O'Leary, is hushed to eternal silence;

^d Previous to the year 1782, the Parliament of Ireland had scarcely any Legislative power, and could do little more than register the edicts of a British Minister; but as soon as they were restored to the exercise of their functions, they generously repealed the bulk of the Penal Laws. Mr. Scully and his brethren should recollect that they owed this, not to their *wisdom and unbroken energies*, but to the liberality of a Protestant Parliament, at the instance of the best of Sovereigns,

his soul is gone to receive in Heaven that happiness, which he wished to all mankind, but particularly to the Men of Ireland.^c He, doubtless, still looks down, with fond solicitude, upon his native Country: and, could his benevolent spirit re animate his sleeping dust, he would now (for I knew him and his sentiments well) proclaim to you, with the earnest voice of Patriotism and Christian eloquence, those solemn and precious truths, which, with not less pure motives, but far inferior powers, I shall venture briefly to lay before your eyes.

My Countrymen, THE FRENCH boastfully proclaim the menace of invading our Island once more. For this daring enterprise they have collected all their adventurers, their convicts, their outcasts and plundering banditti; and their General, Massena, cheers his fellow-russians on, by picturing us as an easy prey, as a lazy, bickering, cowardly, helpless nation of poltroons, worse even than themselves. They fancy already, that they may, with impunity, pillage our Homes and fields, ravish our Women, bind our Men neck and heels, transport them to the West Indies to perish by the yellow fever, or the

^c I suppose Mr. Scully concludes that he's rewarded in heaven, for having been General of a Crusade, in the County of Cork, in the year 1786, when, after the example of the pious father Nicholas Sheehy, he incited the White Boys to commit various outrages; which many respectable persons, now living in that County, can attest.

swords of their Negroes, and lastly, parcel out this lovely Island amongst the most ferocious robbers of their Gang.

It is high time, therefore, for us to bethink ourselves how we shall act, whether WITH THEM OR AGAINST THEM?^f In order to determine wisely, let us discuss this Question, not angrily, but calmly,—let us leave all Passions and animosities at the door; and when we have determined, let us act accordingly, with vigour, and in concert—with vigour, because, that will do half the business for us,—in concert, because, if we should disagree, we might be mad enough to shorten the business of the enemy by cutting each others throats, instead of serving ourselves or our country.

We are all, I believe, heartily agreed in our detestation of a Civil War; we feel the same emotions of grief and shame on all its miserable consequences, whether they appear on one

^f After desiring his brethren to bethink themselves, how they shall act, whether with or against the French, and that they should discuss the question not angrily but calmly, and that they should act in concert, because if they should disagree, they might be mad enough to shorten the business of the enemy, by cutting each others throats, he reminds them in page 7, of the practice of indiscriminately burning the houses, and torturing the persons of the innocent and guilty.

In page 36, he also reminds them of their “sore and diseased state,” of “those bleeding wounds and gashes, to which salves and plaisters ought to be applied,” and of their “present political degradation.” Are such insinuations likely to unite the different orders of the Irish nation against the French?

side or the other, in the shape of Victories or Defeats, of a Battle at Ross or at Carnew, of a massacre at Wexford or in the fields of Ballinamuck.^g Those, who execrate the practice of indiscriminately burning the houses and torturing the persons of the innocent and the guilty, those who abhor the now exploded system of Terror amongst us, those who profess the true principles of brotherhood of affection amongst Men of every Sect and party, must shudder at the renewal of a Civil War. They will, therefore, join with me in scrutinizing closely the pretences and promises of those Foreigners, who now invite us to hostilities against each other.

We are to consider which of these two parts we shall act, whether to receive those French visitors with open arms, and throw ourselves upon their Mercy and good Faith, or whether we shall keep to ourselves what we now have, (be it ever so little) and drive them back into the Ocean at the points of our Bayonets and our pikes.^h

In

^g He applies the appellation of massacre equally to the dreadful carnage which took place on Wexford bridge, and to the victory at Ballinamuck, when a number of traitors forfeited their lives, for having joined a foreign enemy, against the best of Sovereigns, who is *their hereditary King*.

In this he reflects on the humanity of Lord Cornwallis, who was present, tho' he is lavish in his encomiums on him afterwards.

^h It is to be feared that the reasoning of Mr. Scully, or even *the warning notice of his venerable guide Arthur O'Leary*, were he living, could not persuade

In the first place, I entreat of every Irishman to lay his hand upon his heart, and to ask himself seriously these few and simple questions :

Who are these French ? Which of us have ever seen or talked with them, or had experience of them ? What may be their object or view in taking this long voyage, upon the element that all Frenchmen detest, exposed to the cannon of our fleets, and the fury of the storms ? Have they the kindness to take this mighty trouble merely for our sakes ? And, if so, what presents do they bring to us, and what rewards do they promise to themselves ? Can they bring to us what they themselves have not; Liberty, Property, Laws, Honesty, Truth, or Religion ? Have we in a word, any reason either to love or to fear them ?

Now, my Countrymen, I have deliberately weighed those questions, and I will tell you frankly what answers I have found to them.—I have long watched their conduct and characters, and studied their History and connexion with Ireland, and I give you the plain result of what I have observed or learned upon those subjects.

persuade the pikemen to use their weapons in any other cause, than in that for which they were provided. It is to be observed that he reasons on this point, with the coldness of a logician, as if it were a matter of doubt, whether his Catholic brethren should act with or against the French ; for he tells us, as above, “*that he deliberately weighed these questions;*” and in page 17, he says, “*Let us coolly consider this matter, and see whether their amity is to be confided in, or their alliance esteemed.*”

It

It is 112 years since the Capitulation of Limerick to William the Third; it was the last place in Ireland or England, that surrendered to him; and never was any place more gallantly and obstinately defended, than Limerick had been by our loyal Ancestors, who with Sarsfield at their head, fought for their hereditary King, James, against a Dutch Invader and his hired battalions.ⁱ France had long amused the besieged with promises of succour—no succour came; and the brave Garrison, after enduring incredible hardships, were forced to give up, with breaking hearts, their last possession in their Country, but not without having obtained, and deservedly, glorious terms of Capitulation. The French Fleet came (as they have always come to their friends) when there was nothing to be done for them, when all was over, and they were not wanted.^k However, they enticed 14,000 of our veteran Soldiers to transport themselves on board this fleet to France, in order to fight their battles; not a man of those veterans ever saw his Country again; they were all thrown by the French upon the most hazardous attempts, and they all perished in battle,

ⁱ As the comment on this would be too long for a Note, I have inserted it in Appendix, No. I.

^k He censures the French for no other reason, than their not coming in time to assist *his* *loyal ancestors* in establishing the throne of a tyrant and a bigot.

the dupes of French craft and Ambition. Never afterwards did the French seriously attempt to restore James to his Throne, or our Exiles to their country, although they then had, what they now have not, plenty of shipping, and a Navy able to cope with ours.

The next visit they paid us was about 43 years ago, when one Thurot, an Adventurer, landed at Carrickfergus in the North, with a few hundreds of them. He amused himself, as usual, with plundering the country for a few days.—The people rose against him, and he had just time to get back to his ships; however, in his return, he was overtaken by our frigates, shot in action, and his ships were captured.

After that experiment, they left us in quiet for 36 years, when, about Christmas, 1796, General Hoche came with 20,000 of them, and a great fleet, to Bantry Bay.—With all this force they had not the courage to set foot upon Irish ground. All the men of Munster, on the first alarm, joined hearts and hands to drub them; but the French wisely shifted their quarters, and they and their ships, in returning, were, for the most part, either wrecked on the seas, or made prizes to our cruizers.

Next, in September, 1798, a gang of them to the number of 1,100 came to Killala under Humbert,

Humbert, who has since, I think, killed himself. Now those were their most choice, orderly and valiant men, the veterans of their Italian and German campaigns—and how did they behave?

They rambled about during three weeks, doing much mischief in villages and in corn fields, and enticed many thousand country people to their Army, whom they afterwards insulted and quarrelled with, because, forsooth, they would not bend the knee to Frenchmen, and could not learn the manual drill from French serjeants, who spoke neither English nor Irish. We all know that 200 brave Irish boys; of the Limerick militia, charged this whole army of French heroes at Coloony with fixed bayonets, and forced them to measure back their ground with loss.—Who were their conquerors? they were Catholics, mostly descended from the renowned defenders of Limerick, who, being prohibited by an old Act of Parliament (now repealed) from dwelling within the walls, took up their residence in those noted suburbs of Limerick, called Garryone. The French became very tame after this skirmish, and being hotly pursued and overtaken by Irish troops at Ballinamuck, they finished their short race, by an act, scarcely to be equalled in cowardice and treachery, towards 1500 of our hapless Countrymen,

trymen, whom they had allured to the tri-coloured Flag. Instead of sending a flag of truce, or demanding terms of mercy or protection for their Irish allies, (who though raw and undisciplined, wore their uniform and formed part of their Army) they flung down their arms in a panic, and cried out for quarters for *themselves alone*.—Those dishonoured fellows got quarter, and immediately saw, with unconcern, almost every man of those poor Irish butchered before their eyes. I have since been on the field of Massacre, and was shown the large pits, into which heaps of Irish carcases were thrown, without the ordinary rites of Christian interment.¹

Such is the protection of the French; they never afterwards complained of this Massacre, as of a matter that concerned them, or their honour, or our esteem for them: on the contrary, their vindictive hearts felt so sorely the disgrace of having been first checked, and finally vanquished, by a few Irish troops, that their shame was converted (as is natural in Frenchmen) into a general antipathy against our Nation. They bitterly inveighed against those deluded, but brave Men, whom they

¹ Alas! their souls are doomed to remain a long time in Purgatory, because a requiem was not sung over them, and they had not the benefit of a month's mind,

'had, under the name of Allies, betrayed to untimely graves ; they calumniated them as the vilest Cowards, Robbers, and Scoundrels they had ever met with. In conversing with many gentlemen, after they became prisoners, they pretended to be utterly ashamed of their new Allies, and protested repeatedly that they would, on their return to France, represent us a Nation of Thieves and Barbarians ; this last promise alone they have kept.'^m

This Gang was, as I have said, composed of their most honourable and precious men, gentle as lambs, pure as saints, in comparison with the hopeful cargoes of their countrymen, who now hope to succeed them : they were delegated as it were, for the express purpose of captivating our affections and commanding our respect ; a pattern of French excellence, which must, as of course, have rendered us enamoured of the whole of their giddy nation ; and yet you see their impudence, their treachery, and their falsehood—not a whit exaggerated by my pen.ⁿ

I will

^m The Bishop of Killala tells us, that they restrained their Irish allies from committing robbery and assassination.

ⁿ Mr. Scully has given us a true picture of the French ; and as they are justly execrated by every nation in Europe for their tyranny, cruelty and rapacity, I beg leave to know from him, how it comes to pass, that the mass of his brethren in Ireland have so strong a predilection for them, that they express it without reserve, and that they invited them to invade their native country in 1798, and again in 1803.

I will give you an instance of the rudeness and intemperance even of Humbert and his Generals, in a private company of ladies and gentlemen, where (if any where) their behaviour might be expected to be discreet and guarded.—During their captivity, they dined, by invitation, at a worthy Dean's house, in the county of Longford; a trifling dispute arose amongst those Generals, which soon, as is usual amongst them, was inflamed into a mighty quarrel. So little regard for decency had those *deliverers*, so little temper or common sense, that there, at their host's table, they vented the grossest scurrility against each other, exchanged the most angry menaces, and at length, in the presence of ladies! nearly drew their swords, to display their valour—swords, which they had been suffered to wear only by courtesy! The company were glad to withdraw and leave the room to those polite gentlemen,^o and

We should pay a well-merited tribute of praise to his arguments against French connection, had he had not reminded his brethren, in page 36, of the “sore and diseased state,” of the Catholic body, “those bleeding wounds and gashes, to which salves and plaisters ought to be applied;” and their “present political degradation.”

It should be recollect^d also, that he is as virulent in his abuse against the Cromwellians, the Williamites, the Swadlers and the Orangemen, as against the French.

^o The want of politeness in the French must operate as a strong *diffusive* with the polished *pikemen* against them. He forgot to add, that they did not worship the holy Virgin, which would have much more force in that way.

the

the host was, you may imagine, heartily glad when they left the room and the house to him. Those are the men who would guide and govern us, and who yet have not as much command over themselves as the meanest of us. Let us console ourselves for the invectives and contempt of this despicable crew. We repay their scorn tenfold.

In 1801, our Countrymen met and fought them in Egypt; there, amongst other exploits, the 28th Regiment of Foot, mostly composed of Irish Catholics, cut down the flower of their boasted veterans. A Regiment of Germans, headed by Irish officers now at Cork, bayoneted the French Regiment of Invincibles, so calling themselves; took their Standard; and extinguished them and their name. The remnant of this gasconading Army, whom Bonaparte had allured to follow him and then deserted, were forced, in disgrace, to bite the dust or to lay down their arms. Peace was made opportunely for the French. It drew the curtain before their defeats, and saved them from our triumphs and the mockery of Europe.

In a word, do not our Sailors also, mostly Irish, beat them to a jelly wherever they meet them? Do they not, at every opportunity, land in open boats upon hostile shores, spike their guns, storm their batteries, and ever conquer Frenchmen, even upon French ground?

And,

And, after these things, shall we, or should we, fear Frenchmen? We, who are not, like the Dutch or Austrians, dull, slow, and stupid machines; nor, like the Spaniards and Neapolitans, effeminate, debauched, or frivolous; nor, like the Swiss, few in number and bordering on France; but we, who are, I say, from our cradles, a bold, martial, and muscular people as ever existed,

“ Fierce in our native hardiness of Soul.”

inhabiting a remote and defensible Island, which we well know how to defend; we, who are, beyond most nations, robust of constitution and frame, patient of fatigue, of cold and heat, hunger and thirst, nimble, terrible in battle, rushing headlong upon the bayonet and the battery, and ever prodigal of life in a favourite cause.* Shall five hundred thousand of us (for we can turn out so many efficient men) fear to fight the French in the cause of our Country? Of us, who, at our schools, our patron festivals and our fairs, make fighting and rough games our pastime, and even our delight? What is, and has been, more common in Ire-

* He does not take the trouble of telling us what this *favourite Cause* is, because he knows that the page of history informs us, that it has been uniformly the same, from the beginning of the 16th century, to the 23d of July, 1803.—See Appendix I.

land, than to see the men of rival Parishes and rival Counties meeting, by choice and previous appointment, upon our Fair-greens and Race-grounds,⁹ and there, with clubs and other weapons, fighting each other furiously for whole hours, with dreadful loss of limbs and lives, and all for the empty honours of their Parish or County? What, then, is there for such men, as we are, to dread in facing those shrivelled French Fops, who feed upon garlic, chicken broth, frogs, rats, and other vermin, who wear rings in their ears, and muffs on their delicate hands, and who pass their days and nights amongst dancers, fiddlers, and gamblers? Cox-combs, whom a single week of our wet weather would blockade in their Hospitals, or wash back into the Sea; who would find in our very air and climate the same noxious repugnance towards them, that St. Patrick is said to have breathed into it for our protection against all other venomous animals.

If, then, we need not fear or respect them as Foes, what better reason is there for us to love them as Friends or Allies? Let us coolly consider this matter, and see, whether their amity is to be confided in, or their alliance esteemed.

⁹ The hurling match at Donnybrook, near Dublin, carried on for some months previous to the 23d of July, 1803, affords a striking instance of such innocent pastimes. It is well known that the meetings held there were for the sole purpose of bringing to maturity that conspiracy, which exploded in rebellion on the 23d of July, 1803.

In the first place, they have never, since Ireland has had a name, done any one thing to serve us or our Country.—I challenge them, or any servile admirer of theirs, to shew one act of kindness or friendship flowing at any time from the French to the Irish. I call upon them to point out a single instance, in History, of the French having befriended any People, without endeavouring also to rob and to enslave them—They approach with the kiss of Judas, and they bite with the deadly venom of the asp.

We have seen their base treachery at Ballinamuck; we know that they have seduced several Irishmen to their cause, some of whom were undoubtedly men of great talents and integrity, and whose private views, whatever I may think of their foreign connexions, I will not here, contrary to my opinion, accuse as sordid or vindictive, nor will I, for any purpose or at any time, speak of the moral and intellectual qualities of those men, otherwise than, as I have heard of them from their professional acquaintance, with respect.^r But we know that they have been cruelly deceived and

^r Long before Mr. Scully's Pamphlet appeared, it was thought that he entertained a respect for the great talents and integrity, the moral and intellectual qualities of those men, who were confined in Fort George, in Scotland; for during their imprisonment there, he was in the habit of going to the house of John Stockdale, a loyal Printer, to enquire about them.

disappointed ; they were promised splendid rewards, the Wealth, Glory, and happiness of their country, ample and generous aid from France. They believed in those promises ; at a time, indeed, when the French Revolution had not fully developed itself, when its character was vibrating between Liberty and Slavery, when public opinion was undecided between the ferocity and folly of the many, and the timid, but impotent, benevolence of the few, and when many honest and patriotic persons did really hope that the French Nation was engaged, not in forging its own chains, but in maintaining the cause of rational Liberty.

What is now to be thought of those promises and those hopes ? Their Revolution is at an end, they had gained, after the slaughter or exile of two or three millions of men, the opportunity of firmly fixing their Liberties and of choosing calmly their own form of government ; whether a limited Monarchy, a qualified or a pure Republic. All their friends, in other countries, looked for the event with impatient solicitude, and hoped that the French would now produce some admirable masterpiece of a free Constitution. But no ; French souls were too servile for so noble a line of conduct. They have preferred an odious and execrable Tyranny ; they have made a cruel, vulgar, gloomy, and arrogant

little foreigner their Tyrant, without whose leave they dare not open their lips, or move one inch, and they have made themselves the vilest of slaves, because Frenchmen never have been, nor ever can be, any thing else but slaves.

As for our ill-fated Countrymen, who have been allured by the false signals and lights of France to steer to such a coast in quest of Liberty, their reception, I am well informed, has been so cold and chilling, and their disappointment so bitter, that you would really pity their present feelings.* They are allowed no pension; they have no subsistence but what they can raise amongst their families here, they are either watched and encircled by spies in Paris, or left to starve in the garrets, cellars, and highways, for the French seldom give alms, or relief to the poor. Thus our abused Exiles, who might have lived in comfort at home, drag on the burden of life in the utmost misery and neglect, in the land of unfeeling strangers, suspected by every body they meet, however unjustly, of being robbers and assassins, worse than the French themselves.

So much for their conduct towards our nation and their own. Next, it may be useful to see what are the received and current sentiments amongst them, with respect to Ireland.

* Can we doubt but that Mr. Scally's brethren would pity them from a congeniality of principle.

Now, all Frenchmen despise and ridicule all other nations, but ours in particular. The wide and turbulent ocean, which the Almighty, perhaps amongst his other mercies to us, has interposed between Ireland and France, is considered by the modest people of Paris, as a proof that we are destined, from the Creation, to be an incorrigible nation of Savages or slaves, eternally cut off from all their refinements, civilization, and improvements. Voltaire himself, their favourite Author and Oracle, assures them very gravely in one of his publications, that the Irish have no good moral or intellectual quality whatever. The French believe this to be as true as the Gospel; for their ignorance keeps fully equal pace with their insolence.— Does not our blood boil with scornful indignation at those things, and do we not pant for an opportunity of forcing them to better manners and more instruction?

But, perhaps their Tyrant, Bonaparte, may have more sense or more kindness towards us than his slaves have. Vain expectation! Our officers and soldiers, who have served in Egypt, assure us, that his practice there was, to murder thousands of his prisoners in cold blood, and to rid himself of the sick and wounded of his army, by poisoning them in their beds. Monstrous villainy! to sentence his own suffering and

and unoffending soldiers, who had blindly followed him in his frantic expedition from France, to the excruciating agonies of the most cruel of deaths. We read also, upon the authority of printed French letters, that very lately his brother-in-law, by his orders, conveyed hundreds of his Negro slaves on board his transport ships, carried them out to sea, and there, by means of false bottoms, contrived for the horrid purpose, pushed them all in a moment into the Ocean, the prey of the sharks and waves. Would he treat us better, if he had us in his power, than he has treated the natives of the West Indies, in Egypt, or his own soldiers and Countrymen? No; he is well known to have often declared, in his silly intemperance, that he abhors and detests us. When the French Directory, in 1798, proposed to send him and his army to Ireland to aid the rebellion; he plumply refused, and swore a great Oath, that the Irish might go to the Devil for him;^t I hope we shall never go to a Devil like him, or ever permit him to come to us. He went at that time,

^t Are we to suppose from this, that Mr. Scully was in the secrets of the French Cabinet? He seems desirous of exciting the indignation of his brethren against Bonaparte, because he refused to come to their assistance. We are to presume then, that he would have been entitled to their warmest regards, if he had acceded to their wishes in 1798, in assisting the Irish Directory to form the Constitution which they had then in contemplation.

as you remember, to Egypt, where Famine, Pestilence, Murder, and the Deaths of hundreds of thousands of men, followed his visit.

He deserted from that army, and fled back to France. The enraged Egyptians joined our army the moment it landed, fell upon his forsaken and dejected troops, and assisted in killing or capturing every man of them, whom the climate had spared. Such was his conduct and fortune in Egypt.

Let us now see how this Bonaparte has acted towards other nations, to whom he deigned to wear a show of kindness.

He found the Swiss republic somewhat divided in itself—the Catholic cantons were tranquil and satisfied; some of the Protestant cantons murmured against a few of their Magistrates,—Bonaparte came amongst them, with grimaces and sweet speeches, promising them his healing protection, and a new Constitution, more free than their own, which had stood for centuries—he caught them, as the spider catches the innocent fly—he protected them, as the kite protects the dove—he plucked them, and stripped them, and plundered them of their all, even of their goats.

He took them in the same trap, in which he has taken other nations; and the following is the simple contrivance and uniform construction of it. First, a catalogues of grievances (such as

every

every country under Heaven does and must furnish in some degree,) is vamped up, by a few shallow natives of the country, who either are bribed by his agents, or have the folly to flatter themselves that they shall be Rulers and Lords of all, if they assist him in enslaving their Country. Then follows an invitation to him, or to France, to act the farce of the Umpire, as being great, glorious and powerful.—He accepts the mediation, and both parties are base enough to submit to his interference.—He pretends to call a general congress by proclamation; for the purpose of choosing their own form of government.—This gratifies the rabble, and collects all the vulgar and conceited politicians of the country together. All is gratitude to the great little man.—All is enthusiasm for Liberty ; and every man dreams of it in his own way ; the statesman, (that is, the mobs) debate and discuss the subject, in the streets, in the taverns.—No system can please all, nor ever did.—They differ, altercate, and form new factions.—Bonaparte, prepared for this perplexity, sends his agents amongst the multitude, to divide and bewilder them the more, while he seems to take no active part himself, nor to exercise any influence over them.—In the mean time, a general uncertainty prevails ; the old Laws are at a stand, the Courts of Justice are shut, and men begin to find the misery

of

of being without Magistrates or Judges. Riots become frequent, property is pillaged; the strong attack the weak, all with impunity; and bad men are encouraged, by the general confusion, to proceed from wicked actions to worse.—The innovators stare at each other with terror and amaze; they ask themselves, in tremulous whispers, where will all this end?—They are ashamed to own their error, and all are afraid to return from Anarchy to their late Government, without first consulting with the Great Man and the Great Nation.—The Great Man receives the plaintive Deputies of the Congress;—listens, with great appearance of tenderness, to the tale of their sorrows; gets all the Information he can from them; tells them that their case is very hard, that they are patriotic, valuable citizens, profound Legislators, and that he would be happy to see distinguished by Public posts, men so capable of working a new Constitution skilfully, and of preserving the relations of Amity and Fraternity with the Great Nation. The Deputies retire from his presence, wondering at his political sagacity, and dazzled by the tawdry magnificence that surrounds him. They receive some money, and more flattery, from the Consul and his Agents; and, by and by, they are agreed in intreating him to condescend to frame a Constitution for their poor Country.

He, with much diffidence, gratifies their desires, and in due time produces, from one of his Pigeon-holes, a pompous Proclamation, full of generosity and high sounding phrases, followed by a skeleton of a Constitution, in which much is vaguely promised, and new coined words of undefined meaning are abundantly scattered through, in order to leave the whole to his own subsequent interpretation. The Deputies are delighted at the prospect of some Novelty, of casting off their old fashioned Laws, and of *regenerating* their Country. They return to it with this Constitution in their pockets, in which care has been taken to nominate them, during pleasure, to some conspicuous Posts of power.

They present it to the Congress, who accept it by acclamation, and, having thus fulfilled their Legislative Duties, their Session closes with acts of public thanks to the great Consul and to Heaven.

The Consular Proclamation, in patriotic polysyllables, is promulgated; and all is joy and festivity again, until the frenzy of the moment has had time to evaporate. Then, indeed, the dizzy lovers of Novelty begin to feel, in practice, the studied imperfections of their new Constitution; they murmur at the gross injustice of its provisions; they detect the incapacity of these Rulers of their choice.—

Discontent

Discontent diffuses itself—Power is ridiculed and insulted—and, at the news of the first riot, these public Functionaries, the puny disciples of Sancho Panca, tremble with dismay, and turn pale at the ebullition of popular fury. They dispatch couriers to Bonaparte, bearing their invocations of his speedy protection; they beseech him to shield them from the consequences of their own rashness, and to second his generous labours by the Bayonets of his Mercenaries. The Plot is now ripe—he does not refuse them: French legions are poured in upon them, dispersing menacing and reproachful Proclamations against the ingratitude of the refractory Citizens, and the incapacity of the terrified Rulers: all are treated alike, as Rebels and Enemies. Every species of Rapine and Outrage follows; and the last act of this Farce of Deliverance closes in the dreary silence and servitude of military Desolation.

Such, my Countrymen, is the Freedom that the French would fain introduce into Ireland; and such are the scenes that they would act here:—such was the experience of the Swiss, the Italians, and the Dutch. The Swiss alone, indeed, floundered and struggled awhile (as the Dutch will, perhaps, shortly do) to get loose from the fatal Toils, into which they had been ensnar-

ed; they rose tumultuously in arms—it was too late; their attempt was vain; seven thousand brave Swiss, disdaining the yoke, perished in battle, overwhelmed by the numbers of their Oppressors. Their Patriots are either chained down in Dungeons, or scattered in Exile over the face of pitying Europe; and their surviving Countrymen are now as abject Slaves in Switzerland, as their Masters are in France.

Bonaparte found the People of Italy, Piedmont, and Savoy, happy and heedless enough also, amongst their Singers, Dancers, Musicians, and loose women. He found the drowsy people of Holland contented and quiet, smoaking their Pipes, plodding at their Trades, or farming their rich Pastures. He came amongst all those People, as in Switzerland, under one pretext or other, fleeced them by military exactions, ruined and beggared them by forced Loans and Contributions, expelled them from their Homes, and has rendered them vagrant and mournful Slaves.

Whose Slaves are they? They are the Slaves of the most creeping Slaves that ever bowed beneath a yoke, the French themselves. They, like their Masters, have no Parliament, Convention, or Congress, no free Juries, no fair Trials, no equal Laws, no Justice, no permission to enjoy the earnings of their Industry, the

the fruits of their Soil, or even the sad consolation of giving utterance to their anguish. All is laid waste or plundered—whole armies of Commissaries, Collectors, and Tax-gatherers have been let loose upon those credulous people, and have ground them to powder.

Next, my Countrymen, a few words as to the National Character of those French,—I am, as much as any other Man, adverse to national Prejudices or Imputations, in general; but, as it becomes seriously interesting to us all at this moment, and as we are invited by the French themselves, to form a true and just estimate of their Character, I conceive that we shall best do so, by comparing and communicating amongst ourselves, each man his own experience of them, as a Nation or as Individuals.

For my part, I can say, without regret, that I have never been in France; but it has been my fortune to be more or less acquainted, at different times, and in various places, with nearly a thousand Frenchmen of all classes, and probably those were of the best among them; and I declare to you solemnly and truly, that I have never known ten of them possessed of any steadiness, worth or discretion.—I have known about a thousand other persons, Irish and English, who have resided, or been educated in France, and from them I have collected similar sentiments of the French.

Our

Our Irish Brigade Officers, who were in the service of the French Monarchy, corroborate this testimony to the vices and selfishness of the French character, and to their contempt and jealousy of all Foreigners, of which those brave and faithful Officers experienced many mortifying proofs. And, on the whole, the most charitable opinion I can form of them, from every Inquiry, is such, that, without being conscious of the least spleen or malevolence against any Individual Frenchman, I yet would not trust to their veracity, or even live in one house, or travel a day's journey, with one of them, if I could avoid it. You have heard that their Voltaire, whom I have already alluded to, drew a portrait of his Countrymen, high and low, and it was that of "*a half monkey and a half tiger.*"—That was their likeness 40 years ago, painted by the man, whom they admire as their Philosopher and their Ornament; and he might have added the subtle *serpent* to the horrid Figure—Believe me, they are not improved since his time.

In the name of common sense, my Countrymen, can any good come to us from such a Race of fellows as those, or from such a Tyrant as they are cursed with? Would they, or could they, place us in a better situation than they themselves are in? Would those hungry and half-

half-naked Ruffians feed or clothe our Poor? Would they give us a Farm, a Potatoe-Garden, a Cow, a cask of Butter, a Pig or a Rag more than we now have? Can we not see, or can we doubt, that they will rob us, starve and famish us, or rid themselves of us by some wicked means or other, if we suffer them to come amongst us?

What description of men will they select for this Enterprize of Invasion? All their outcasts, cut-throats and convicts; the sweepings of their Gaols, Streets, and Highways; fellows without a coat on their backs, or a halfpenny in their pockets; such as (according to their own boasts) they sent into Italy, under Massena, and Bonaparte himself, came home loaded with pillage, and crimes, and execrations.

Oliver Cromwell (of infamous Memory) brought over to Ireland a Republican army of pillaging, hypocritical, canting knaves, similar in manners to the Bands of Swadlers,^u that now infest our towns—they were the turbulent spirits, and the refuse of England, at that time—who could find nothing in their own Country good,

* Why throw such odious reflections on a large portion of his Majesty's subjects, who are innocent and industrious, peaceable and loyal. None of them were ever suspected of being directly or indirectly concerned in the rebellion of 1798, or in the insurrection and massacre which took place on the 23d of July, 1803. But alas! they are not of the true faith.

or

or sanctified, or licentious enough for them; wretches, whom “ no King could rule, no God ‘ could please.” You see what misery that army caused here—their Taylors, Tinkers, Smiths, Coblers, Drummers and Trumpeters, after the slaughter of one hundred thousand persons, obtained various estates and lands amongst us, whilst the native Protestants who had invited them over, and the Catholics, who had no crime to answer for, were trodden under foot by their Invaders, and suffered to perish by their intestine feuds, unpitied in their disgrace, or neglected in their poverty. Even just so will these French Invaders trample upon and despise us, if we do not drive them back into the ocean like rats, as we are well able to do, if we please.*

Are we such simpletons, after what is past, as to imagine that we should experience any

* Many of the most respectable and dignified families in Ireland are descended from the officers of Cromwell’s army, and their estates consist of lands which traitors concerned in the dreadful rebellion of 1641 had usurped, after having massacred their proprietors, or which they had forfeited, for the crime of treason. What purpose then can it answer to reflect on the ancestors of so many respectable persons, and on the title by which they hold their estates?

Cromwell, though an usurper, did no more than what a king, duly established on the throne, would have done, in distributing the forfeited estates.

This furious declamation against the *Cromwellians*, can not have a tendency to excite loyalty in his brethren, or to promote harmony between them and their Protestant fellow-subjects.

partiality

partiality from them as Irishmen or as their Allies; or that a French Quarter-master would permit the warmest friend they have amongst the natives to occupy a decent House or even a Cabin, or to enjoy a meal, whilst the lowest Ruffian amongst themselves, who could gabble French, should want a Dwelling or a Dinner? Nay more, we and our families should be expelled from our Homes, in the coldest and most inclement season, to make room for their Horses, their Trulls, their Dogs and their very Monkies. We can speak both English and Irish, but not a man amongst the French understands any language besides his own jargon.—They will make no distinction between English and Irish, between their mortal foes and their extravagant admirers—they will treat us (and they treat Irishmen abroad) as Englishmen all. The Croppy will be confounded with the Orangeman; the Priest with the Parson; the Constable with the Cobler; the Informer with the Culprit; the Gaoler with the Convict—They will not understand any of those distinctions; or they will pretend not to understand them, so long as we have hands to labour for them, a barn to be pill'd a cow or a pig or a fowl to be devoured, a wife or a daughter to be ravished, or a corner in which they can expect to force from us, by tortures, a disclosure

fure of hidden gold or silver. The bloodshed, however, which the fate of battles may occasion, whether in repelling them, or in destroying one another, will yet be trifling in comparison with the frightful ravages and depopulation which we may expect from the pestilence and famine, consequent upon a Civil War, and of which the French will not fail to leave us in the full enjoyment, as soon as they shall have succeeded in their objects of Ravage and Destruction.

Now, my Countrymen, let us, without prejudice, compare this character with that of the English Militia and Regulars, who were in this country three or four years ago. Did they injure the properties, outrage the persons, or offend the feelings of the humblest Individual of us, even in the most obscure corner of our Island? Did they seize upon any man's substance, take his goods without payment, or leave a single debt undischarged here? Did they not rather generously and successfully, interfere frequently in stemming the animosities of the ruling Party, in repressing the Fury and Bigotry of our own Countrymen, and in protecting the weak and unarmed Natives, wherever they had an opportunity? y
Need

* Though it is obvious from the general tenor of Mr. Scully's Pamphlet, that he is not well affected towards the British nation from his bitter

Need I name to you, Generals Moore, Grose, Hunter, Meyrick, Payne, and the Earl of Dorchester ? Need I name our present Commander in Chief, Fox ? These are our present friends, and shall we exchange them for Frenchmen ?

I hope I have satisfied your judgments, that the French are not the Men, whom we should take to our bosoms ;² that they are neither to be feared nor loved by us, nor to be thought of otherwise than with contempt and abhorrence. Depend upon it, such wretches can possess no true valour, nor can they harm us, if we are but true to ourselves and to Ireland.— They come, with foul consciences, deeply steeped in guilt, and stained by crimes ; they come, only to rob, to disfigure, and to desolate our

bitter invectives against the Cromwellians, and his reflections on the Dutch invader and his hired battalions, he panegyrizes the English militia and regulars, for the purpose of drawing an odious parallel between them and the Irish Protestants ; as he says, that the fury and bigotry of the latter were repressed by the former. In doing this, he contracts both the French and the Irish Protestants to the English militia and regulars ; on fair logical principles then we may infer, that he regards the two first in the same light. It is evident that by the words weak and unarmed natives, he means his own brethren, and that he designates the Irish Protestants by the expressions our own countrymen.

² Nor according to Mr. Scully, should his brethren take to their bosoms, a certain description of his own countrymen, against whose fury and bigotry the English militia and regulars protected the weak and unarmed natives.— See page 34.

fair and fertile Land. They are not animated by the flame of Liberty, by the love of true Glory, or by honest or exalted Views. We are animated by those Incentives, and by those high feelings which kindle in the bosoms of a brave and unbending People, standing forth in the Defence of all that is dear to them. We cherish the holy enthusiasm^a of true Freedom, of Patriotism, and of a jealous Honour. We will march forth, at the call of our King and our Country, to maintain those inestimable possessions; we will fall upon the Invaders with our native impetuosity, and they shall run like hares, or fall like sheep, before our intrepid warriors.

I come now, my Countrymen, to a painful topic, which you will expect me not to decline, although I would fain pass it in silence: ‘our redemption from our present political depression in our Country is that topic; and it constantly associates itself in the minds of some of us with French Invasion and Revolution. We are, indeed, in a sore and diseased state of health, and gladly would I avert my eyes from those bleeding wounds and gashes, to which medical plaisters and salves ought to have been long since applied by a lenient hand.’

^a Can he allude to the holy enthusiasm of those pious heroes of the crusade in the county of Wexford, who commonly prayed before they immolated their victims.

The active parts of that degradation are so marshalled as to bear most heavily and directly at present upon the middling and higher classes of our persuasion, and I feel my full share of them as severely as any of you.—But they bear, indirectly, upon us all; and the acrimonious irritation of temper, which they preserve and cherish to our annoyance in civil Society, is far more oppressive than their political operation.^b

But, if a family physician is tardy in his attendance, if, whether through dullness, or from the cold spirit of experiment, he has withheld the cordial draught from the parched lips of his patient, until thirst has mounted to fever, and fever threatens frenzy; is it yet prudent to accelerate the sick man's dissolution by calling in a foreign Charlatan, to bleed him to death, or poison him with nostrums; which fatal experience has condemned?

Is our state of life so galling and grievous as to leave us no alternative but French tyranny?

^b Though Mr. Scully boasts in page 4, that he and his brethren "have won their way, with calmness, to their present rank, which in his judgment, is the most enviable and truly splendid, that the annals of history present;" and in same page he speaks of *their gradual resurrection in their country*, and that *the rank and prosperity which they now enjoy*, should be a matter of *mutual congratulation to each other*—he here in 4 or 5 pages successively, descants on ideal grievances, which can not fail, to use his own words, to *preserve and cherish an acrimonious irritation of temper.*

What is there in it to hope for the future? Every thing. What is there to fear? Little or nothing.

Some of you will say, that a certain faction (a handful of bustling bigots) cannot longer be endured, and force you, by their insults and outrages, to favour those Foreigners; that they terrify you by their mysterious meetings, by their secret consultations, by the memory of the massacres in Armagh, Wexford, and Wicklow; that you are harassed by rumours of intended assassinations;^c that you cannot enjoy security in your homes, or repose in your beds, and that despair drives you into Rebellion for shelter. I say to you, that this faction, disloyal as they may be to their King, and terrible as they might be to their Country if they had power, are yet angels of mercy and kindness, in comparison with French tyrants.

Some of you will tell me, that you suffered much of injustice, indignities and calumny, some years ago, from men of short-lived power? I admit the fact, and I hope I have too free and too true a spirit not to have keenly felt and sympathized with those sufferings. There is no true wisdom in glossing over our situation by sophisms or misstatements of facts, or in smother-

^c I beg leave to ask the candid reader what description of persons at present have reason to guard against assassination.

ing our honest and natural sentiments at a moment like the present, that requires plain dealing alone. There is no good sense in extenuating the vices or errors of our former Rulers; nor is there any necessity for doing so, in order to engage us in co-operating with the present in our own defence^d

Would to God the effects of those vices and errors could be expunged for ever from the annals of this Country! But, since they must suffice for public shame, let them suffice for public instruction also. It befits our candour, and it may promote the public good, to make known to his Majesty's Ministers and to define to our Legislators, what are the feelings and the wants of upwards of three millions of subjects, whom it is their duty to govern with skill, and to legislate for with wisdom. And I have long been of opinion, that as we are not represented in either House of Parliament by those of our own body, who might speak our true sentiments, as other men, unauthorized by, and hostile or strangers to us, have frequently misled the public mind by uttering sentiments and wishes as ours, which we disclaim and detest, as we are pro-

^d Here our author applies a blistering plaster to his brethren, to refine them into action; but I will submit to the candid reader, whether his observations can have any tendency to kindle loyalty in them.

^e Mr. Eccliss does so in the most explicit manner. It is much to be lamented that he has not a seat in the Imperial Parliament.

hibited by the law of the land from choosing any persons to watch over our interests, and sue for the repeal of those laws which affect our Body, as addresses and petitions are but very fallible organs of our sentiments, and liable to much bustle and inconvenience, I have been of opinion, I say, that the occasional publications of loyal and independent Catholics might be found amongst the least exceptionable channels of communication between our Rulers and our Body. In the following free Review, therefore, you will receive a pledge of my fidelity and attachment to your true interests; and our Rulers will find some useful matter, which they may turn to the common advantage.

‘ I acknowledge to you frankly, and I know
 ‘ that you all agree with me, that, when his Ma-
 ‘ jesty’s Ministers, in 1795, abruptly recalled
 ‘ Lord Fitz-William from the Government of
 ‘ this Island, when they violated their faith with
 ‘ the Irish people, after having possessed them-
 ‘ selves

^f It has been falsely asserted, without any foundation whatsoever, that in the recal of Lord Fitz-William, faith was broken with the Irish people.

It can not answer any good purpose, and it bespeaks great presumption, to question the exercise of a prerogative inherent in the Crown, that of appointing or recalling a Viceroy.

Lord Camden was justly loved and revered by every good and loyal man, for his wisdom and firmness, tempered with moderation. He defeated the object of a treasonable conspiracy, formed so early as the year 1792, for the subversion of the Constitution, and the separation of Ireland from England.

From

' selves of the Irish purse, when they caused a
 ' peal of Indignant complaint to ring from Derry
 ' to Dingle and from Westport to Wexford,
 ' when they deputed Lord Camden, without ade-
 ' quate experience or capacity (as the event
 ' proved) to fill the vacant and perilous post
 ' of power, they listened to evil counsel, and
 ' acted without much of good system or of good
 ' sense.' Neither could I have rejoiced in see-
 ing my Country delivered over, through the
 same evil counsel, to a few intemperate Persons,
 who undertook to rule Five Millions of Men
 with a *rod of Iron.* ' Those persons have, in my
 ' firm judgment, nursed the feuds and swelled
 ' the distractions, that disgrace this Isle: but, as
 ' more than a year has passed away since the fore-
 ' most of them has been arrested by the hand of
 ' Providence in his career in this world, and as
 ' the others, and those of their School, are either
 ' unemployed or unnoticed by our present ex-
 ' cellent Rulers, I shall not now enlarge upon

From that period till the arrival of Lord Fitzwilliam; on the 4th of January 1795, most parts of Ireland were as much disturbed and convulsed, as they were subsequent to his recall.

In the year 1792, a general insurrection in the metropolis, attended with plunder, carnage, and conflagration, was constantly apprehended.

It appeared on the trial of the Rev. Mr. Jackson, that a negociation was opened with the French, so early as the month of April 1794, for invading Ireland.

To Lord Camden we are indebted for the establishment of the Yeomanry, which, with the assistance of Providence, saved Ireland from destruction.

‘ the incapacity or the demerits of the departed
 ‘ or of the fallen.’

§ Our discontents had, however, nearly subsided, when, about Christmas 1796, Hoche and his Banditti appeared at Bantry Bay. At the sound of Invasion, the generous spirit of native Loyalty filled the hearts of all Men, and returning kindness seemed to have extinguished all bitter recollections. All wounds were healed: all grievances consigned to oblivion. We came forward to shake hands with our fellow-subjects : we tendered our lives and fortunes to protect those of even the most prejudiced amongst them — It was not a moment for them to hesitate in accepting our aid towards maintaining their Establishments and our own quiet—They looked around, and saw the paucity of their numbers, scarcely exceeding the necessary complement for garrisoning a few of our towns ; that they could not produce the Legions required for traversing the morafs, for climbing the moun-

¶ This assertion is not true, for most parts of Leinster and Ulster were dreadfully convulsed, and disgraced by nocturnal robbery and assassination, from the beginning of the year 1793, till May 1798. As the Directory did not organize Munster till the Spring of 1797, the farmers and peasants there, sensible of the blessings of our excellent Constitution, and of a mild Government, not only were tranquil, but shewed strong symptoms of loyalty.

But they became as disaffected and turbulent, as the people of Leinster and Ulster, when Missionaries from the Capital had disseminated amongst them the baneful doctrines of republicanism.

tain,

tain, for lining the coasts ; that they scarcely existed, or were to be heard of, in many of our districts. To venture alone upon the task of repelling Invasion, would be as if our Drummers and Fifers were to charge upon the battalions of France, whilst our rank and file lay in their tents. They embraced us cordially and heartily. I saw the Peasant and the Peer, the Parson, the Proctor, and the Farmer, all mingling together in the ranks, and breathing one common resolution, that of repelling the Invader. All lent or tendered their horses and their cars to draw the ammunition, the artillery, and the baggage of our Army. Who does not remember, that the poorest amongst us, in that rigorous season, gave their beds, their potatoes, their butter, the milk of their cows, their all, for the refreshment and support of our marching Troops. They carried the firelocks and the knapsacks of our fatigued soldiers ; they cheered them with songs and smiling welcome, and their mirthful alacrity presaged, and truly, the speedy discomfiture of Invasion.

Those generous Peasants were offered money as the reward of their services and their sacrifices ; but they spurned money ; their noble souls disdained compensation, and thus did they refute the invectives and remove the suspicions cast upon them—they proved themselves to be

truly loyal, according to the Poet's just definition.

—————“ Loyalty is still the same,
“ Whether it win or lose the game ;
“ True as the Dial to the Sun,
“ Altho' it be not shined upon.”

What rewards did we look for? not money, but justice—not gold or power or praise, but, simply, the removal of unmerited dishonour.—We expected, and with reason, that his Majesty's Ministers would have unyoked us from the code of intolerance, would have broken down the ignominious barrier that separates us from our fellow-subjects, and wholly obliterated from the Statute-book the nickname of Papist, ^b with its full train of disabilities, forfeitures, penalties and incapacities.

That was a fit time for them to have abolished, with dignity and perfect safety,ⁱ that remnant of civil distinctions on the score of religion, which have been permitted, during an additional period

^b How does this accord with his preceding statement of their felicity, viz. “ their present rank, which in his judgment, is the most enviable and truly splendid, that the annals of history can present,” page 4—“ the rank and prosperity which they now enjoy, should be a matter of mutual congratulation to each other.”—ibid.

ⁱ After this enumeration of *disabilities, forfeitures, penalties, and incapacities*, he tells us, that there exists but a *remnant of civil distinctions on the score of religion*. Here lies the gravamen. Mr. Scully wishes to get a seat in the Imperial Parliament, and he is desirous for that purpose to have this *remnant removed*.

of ten years, without necessity or provocation, at so heavy an expence and risk to the empire, and so much cost to humanity, to prolong their goading existence ; that was a time to have effaced the stigma, which, however lightly others may affect to think of it, is yet galling enough to free and loyal hearts, unconscious of crime and above imputation.

They did not seize that golden opportunity, and I am heartily sorry for it; they listened I fear, to those meddling Men already alluded to, who again stepped in, as if bribed by the enemies of our gracious Sovereign, to preserve materials in this country for French intrigues to work upon.

We all lament this foul play and its disastrous consequences. French Agents and Emissaries found, in the unthinking and inflamed part of us, too many fit and ready instruments of their policy ; they worked up these combustible materials, which had been stubbornly left in their way ; they wielded against the throne three formidable weapons, popular chagrin, the outrages of pretended Loyalist zealots, and the irritating mode of levying the annual Tythes.

If any loyal and reasonable man doubts, that conciliatory measures would have diffused Loyalty, and fortified our Island, as it were, with an adamantine bulwark, let him consult the

History

History of the United Irishmen, as disclosed by their Directory to the Secret Committees of Parliament, and he will find it to have been their determination, (to use their own words) had the differences between the Government and the People been adjusted, to inform the French Directory, that they must abandon all thoughts of invading us, and no longer look for support in Ireland.^k No man will imagine that, after such an intimation, the French would have dared to persist in their project.

I do not wish to be the Annalist of the Rebellion that followed, or of the calamities and tor-

* On the 19th of February 1798, the very day on which Lord Moira, in the House of Lords, recommended Catholic Emancipation, and Parliamentary Reform, which he considered as necessary to allay the discontents of the people, the United Irishmen assembled at Oliver Bond's, Bridge-street, Dublin, resolved, "That we will pay no attention whatsoever, to any attempt that may be made, by either House of Parliament, to divert the public mind from the *grand object* we have in view, as nothing short of compleat emancipation of our country will satisfy us." See the papers found in Bond's house. Report of the Secret Committee of the House of Commons, Appendix, No. XIX. II. page 148.

This compleat emancipation, meant a total separation, which they had in view so early as the year 1792, and which they hoped to accomplish through the French. So much for Mr. Scully's censure on Government, and his defence of the designs of the United Irishmen!

Doctor M'Nevin confessed that the before-mentioned resolution was genuine, and that it "was officially communicated by the Leinster Provincial Committee to the Executive Directory of the Union." Mr. Thomas A. Emmett, another of its Members, acknowledged, that their final and decided resolution was, "to establish an independent republic in Ireland;" and yet Mr. Scully praises them for their integrity, their moral and intellectual qualities.

rents

rents of blood that flowed upon our Country from the folly and fury of parties, matured by French artifice—I shall pass, rapidly, over the horrid scenes that were afterwards acted.—Fifty thousand persons, of all parties, perished—sanguinary and unreflecting men both the Loyal and the Rebel, outraged the properties and the persons of the innocent and guilty, almost indiscriminately; those, of the sufferers, who were guilty, retaliated with cruel severity. Of those who were innocent, some fled to the Laws of the land for redress, but the doors of justice were closed, and they were repulsed by Bills of Indemnity. Others obtained compensation from the same Legislature that enacted those Bills.¹

I grant all those things—I condemn the errors that led to them, nor do I vindicate the Rulers of that day or their measures. But thank Heaven, that dark epoch of our History is gone by—The black storm of civil war have been weathered through, and we now enjoy the sunshine of justice and moderation.^m

If

¹ Here we find a strange confusion between guilt and innocence, treason and allegiance. The sanguinary and unreflecting rebel, outraged the property and the person of the guilty loyalist. What can this mean, unless the crime of the latter was his fidelity to the State. But what can he mean by the innocent rebel?

^m In page 41, Mr. Scully tells us, that the want of *experience and capacity in Lord Camden, and the evil counsel of a few intemperate Persons, who undertook to rule Five Millions of People with a Rod of Iron, in his firm*

If we are to be of any party, let it be the party of moderation.—Let us not act, like the foward child, who beats his head against the wall to fret his fond mother.—Let us not, from a base and vindictive impulse, draw down ruin and disgrace upon our country—the country of our forefathers and where our Children shall yet be cheerful and happy. We are a warm-hearted, sanguine People; lovers of generosity and justice; gifted with strong talents and passions; we know how to resent, but we know also how to forgive. We must reflect, that the actual first magistrate in every country is, like the master of a family or the proprietor of an estate, liable to many mistakes and abuses in the management of his affairs; to fits of anger and caprice and prejudice, like the rest of us; that he may naturally be at times obstinate, ill humoured, improvident, or even infatuated upon some particular subjects; that, in proportion as his family is numerous or his estates extensive, his cares are heavy, his views indistinct, his information inaccurate, and depending much, perhaps, upon worthless stewards, whom he may

firm judgment, nurs'd the feuds and swelled the distractions that disgrace this isle.

Now I beg leave to ask Mr. Scully, how it comes to pass, that treasonable conspiracies have been again formed, and the assistance of the French has been solicited, in the *sunshine of justice and moderation which we enjoy* under the administration of the amiable Lord Hardwicke,

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not detect, until much mischief has been occasioned by them.—If he exercises a general superintendance over the whole with integrity, if he encourages industry, causes the laws to respected, checks oppression and preserves order, with as much of talent and skill as the ordinary extent of human faculties admits of, can we expect more, or shall we renounce his paternal care, and fly to a foreign and savage master for improvement? Let us consider, with our admirable Countryman,

Why should we stray from pleasure and repose,
 To seek a good each Government bestows?
 How small, of all that human hearts endure,
 That part, which laws or kings can cause or cure?
 Still to ourselves, in every place consign'd,
 Our own felicity we make or find. —

A new, and a happier day dawns upon us. The rulers of our Empire will tranquillize and conciliate their faithful people; and well am I assured that your generous natures can easily be won by kindness and confidence. It is morally impossible, that they will prolong the crippled and hectic state of this populous island, rather than restore it to its symmetry, and brace its frame by a few simple tonics, which would render it not merely impregnable to attack, but vigorous in assailing and chastising the common foe.

It is not to be imagined, that a quibbling crotchet in an oath,ⁿ will circumscribe the justice of the beneficent father of his people, in despite of the reasonings of a Butler and a Newenham;—that the barkings of a Duigenan will long outweigh the warnings of a provident Pitt;—that the fables of a Mufgrave will overbalance the testimony and experience of a Cornwallias and a Castlereagh;—that the virulence of a Reynell will overbear the authority of those great names, Mansfield, and Thurlow, and Burke. In a word, that the howl of ascendancy will drown the calm voice of reason and true religion. You see that the faction, whom you dread, have changed sides, and are become the most discontented party in the country, that they are become the most clamorous against British connection, because it has clipped their monopoly; that they are incensed by the late Union, which has demolished (not our Parliament, for we had no share in it, but) their Club-house.^o

————— they

ⁿ How much it is to be lamented, that our gracious Sovereign can not as easily get rid of this quibbling crotchet, as our Author's hereditary King, James II. when in violation of his coronation oath, he, under the pretence of forming a *brotherhood of affection* and of *conciliating religious differences*, attempted to erect a despotic Government on the ruins of our Constitution. The reader will find considerations on this point in Appendix, No. II.

^o The brethren of Mr. Scully owe the privileges which they now enjoy to the liberality of that body, whom he brands with the appellation of a faction.

— they resemble now
Their sin, and place of doom, obscure and foul.—

You see that it is the interest and the principle of the present Government, who espouse no party, to treat all with impartiality and justice ; that, if you continue cordially to support them, they, in return, will continue to protect you, and reward you with their esteem and confidence. They may be distant, or coy,

They would be woo'd, and not unsought be won.

But let not a people neglect their true interests ; let them adhere to loyalty, moderation and calmness, and it is not to be doubted by any thinking mind, that the public affairs of this country are in a train that must, ere long, if not deranged by violence, lead to universal content and permanent security.

When I affirm to you, that a change of measures and of men has taken place, I feel that it may be right to adduce instances of this change, for the general satisfaction and information of you all—and the hope alone of preventing your being misled upon those subjects, and of demonstrating to you that you ought

He falsely represents them as enemies to British connection, for it is well known that they are cordially attached to it, because their very existence depends on it.

zealously to support both those men and their measures, induces me to venture upon the delicate and embarrassing task, of naming and characterizing some men in power, whom none can name without commendation.

In the first place, we now see, in the high post that Lord Camden held with unsteady hands, the good, the firm, and the upright Lord Hardwicke, learned himself, and descended from the luminaries of the law of his country.— I speak only the public voice in telling you, that under his Administration, as under that of his immediate predecessor Lord Cornwallis, persecution is powerless, violent and overbearing men are checked, the applications and complaints of the subject are hearkened to, our traders and manufacturers are consulted and respected, and public affairs are transacted with ability, dispatch and good faith.^p You are not harrassed by wanton and expensive state prosecutions; you are not goaded by insolent speeches; you are not frightened from your houses by tortures, houseburnings or other outrages upon your persons or properties.^q Within this last month I have been informed, upon the autho-

^p It is singular that the wisdom, justice and moderation of Lord Hardwicke, and his unremitting endeavours to conciliate all orders, have not created the smallest change in the sentiments of Mr. Scully's brethren.

^q Let the reader judge for what purpose he so often revives the recollection of such irritating topics.

rity of my venerable and most learned friend Doctor Lanigan, our Bishop of Ossory, that in his district general directions have been received from the Lord Lieutenant by the Governors and Deputy Governors of the County, enjoining them to quell religious feuds, to prohibit factious symbols and badges, and to protect, impartially, the properties and persons of the lowest amongst us from the violence of those blinded men, who abuse the pretence of loyalty in trampling upon the laws. Similar directions, I find, have been received in other districts, and perhaps in all. Now it may be said, that some Magistrates may disobey, or remissly execute, those orders; it may be so; but most of them will gladly obey and enforce them; many are happy in this high sanction for abolishing the petty tyranny, which eludes or defies the arm of tardy justice—all will, in time, feel the wisdom and necessity of those orders.

They will the more readily do so, when they catch the tone of authority; when they see that faction is out of fashion, and contemplate the wholesome example set before them by the first man in the country. That example must have weight amongst all classes of men in power, down to the parish constable and the policeman. The humane feelings
and

and the just notions concerning this country, which dictated his peremptory refusal to consign one of our most fertile and opulent counties to the rigours of Martial Law, at the importunity of timid men, and contrary to the spirit of an act of Parliament, merit our steady affection, and put to the blush the conduct of some of our own nobility, even of that county. You have seen that his principles have not been shaken by the recent outrages in our metropolis, Dublin, which, however aggravated by the horrors of assassination, were yet not formidable in their contrivance or extent. His cool discernment taught him to distinguish between the desperation of three or four hundred ruffians, and the motions of a whole people.—He perceived, amidst the consternation of public rumour, that the number of those persons, who in the hours of intoxication raised their arms against the Government of their Sovereign, did not exceed that of the rioters at a country-fair.^r His moderation

^r The Members of the State, whom Mr. Scully so very justly panegyrizes, differ materially in opinion from him, as to the extent and danger of this conspiracy and insurrection, which the following incidents unquestionably prove: The arming of 8000 yeomen—the introduction of a large body of the military into the metropolis—the construction of barriers and pallisades—the constant apprehension of another insurrection, and the numerous and strong guards posted both day and night to prevent it—the proclamations issued by Government—the number of traitors arrested, and their

ration and his wisdom, in the moment of public consternation, dictated those orders, by which "the strictest discipline is exacted from " the Regulars, the Militia, and the Yeomanry " Corps; the property and persons of individuals are secured against plunder and outrage, and every effort is enjoined for the prevention of unnecessary acts of violence and severity, beyond the faithful discharge of imperious duty." Even in the detection of crimes, you perceive him recurring to the ancient and constitutional usage of reclaiming the deluded and rewarding the repentant, rather than to the absurd tyranny of torture. Every trait of this good man's character proves, that he is not less kind and interested in our welfare, not less attached to peace and lenity, not less indisposed to a factious domination, than the amiable Cornwallis, whom he has succeeded.

In those views and measures he is powerfully seconded by the mild, liberal, and enlightened Lord Redesdale, the benefactor and patron of the English Catholics, the successor of the unpopular Lord Clare^{*}—the patient corrector of

the

their trial and execution—a laboratory for making gun-powder—a depot well supplied with arms and ammunition—rebel manifestoes and proclamations circulated in the Metropolis and in the North, at the same time—the arrival in Dublin of traitors from remote counties to join in the insurrection.

* He was as much respected by all the loyal subjects of Ireland, as he was hated

the mistakes of his predecessors, and the sagacious purifier of our laws from that confusion of doctrine and practice into which political frenzy and distractions had plunged them.—Do we not see, at the head of our army, the brother of our constant advocate, Charles Fox, the successor of General Lake, the friend and Commander of the Catholic Islanders of Minorca, during several years?—What was their experience of his power? Mutual confidence reigned between the General and the people of Minorca; the strongest reciprocal attachment was formed and confirmed between them. The mildness and good sense of his conduct established their tranquillity and happiness, and secured their partiality to these Islands and their

hated by the disaffected, because with singular penetration, he discovered a dark and dangerous conspiracy, formed so early as the year 1792, for separating the two kingdoms; and by wise and vigorous measures defeated it, when other statesmen trimmed or shrank from the danger.

On the bench, his knowledge, judgment and penetration were universally and justly admired; but it fortunately happens that all these qualifications are possessed by his successor in an eminent degree.

In domestic virtues he was equalled by few, surpassed by none. As a husband and father he was affectionate and indulgent to an extreme—as a landlord he was conspicuously liberal—he was the best of master's—and his bounty to the poor was universally known.

From the native honesty of his heart, and that degree of pride which flows from conscious integrity, he spurned at the mean arts practised by others, to gain popular applause. From this, he contracted a bluntness of manner, which was excused by those who knew the rectitude of his mind, but which the disaffected misconstrued, and turned to his disadvantage.

Government;

Government; and his departure was accompanied by the regret, and followed by the praises and blessings of all the inhabitants. Can we imagine for a moment, that such a man brings with him any prejudices against a people of our persuasion, or is void of those liberal qualities which can preserve a perfectly good understanding between a General and a People, be their Religion what it may? Has not our constant friend, Lord Donoughmore, been placed at the head of our Revenue, and do we not see many changes of the same promise in the other public posts?

I may have appeared to digress, in speaking of the characters of those public men. But, allow me to say (in the language of Edmond Burke) "that the characters of such men are of much importance in the history of intestine commotions. Great men are the guide—posts and landmarks in the State. The credit of such men with their King, or in the nation, is the sole cause of all public measures."^t

I have now, with the view of rescuing you from possible error and of pointing out the road of your safety, performed a task not a little painful to my feelings; for, however it may be gra-

^t Mr. Scully acknowledges, that a complete change of men and measures has taken place, and even since the arrival of Lord Cornwallis here in 1798; and yet it has not created the smallest alteration in the conduct of His brethren,

tifying to render to great merit a small tribute, yet it is highly unpleasant to hazard the imputation of having praised public men, merely because they happen to be in power. My heart disowns the motive : and, for the rest, I confide, for my protection, in my past conduct, in my character among you, and my independent station in life. Having shewn to you, my Countrymen, what you have to hope from the beneficent views of our present rulers, let me warn you against the dangers which you have to dread from other quarters ; and, principally, from domestic dissensions. A very small faction of our Countrymen, composed (as all factions are) of some knaves and more fools, have thought proper to associate together for the porpose of circumscribing the attributes of loyalty, and the numbers of the loyal. In the reign of violence, in the absence of reason and moderation from this land, they obtained, from the short-fighted terrors of the Government of that day,^a a sort of connivance or neutrality, whilst they hoisted amongst us their banner, to which they invited and (by the temptations of sedition) allured the rabble of one party to repair, whilst they for-

^a The woeful events of 1798 prove that the terrors of Government were not short-fighted ; but Mr. Scully makes light of that rebellion, and calls it a civil war.

bade the other, containing four-fifths^x of the population and hereditary loyalty of the country, to approach it. I shall stand acquitted of intentional offence or disrespect towards any person, when I declare, as the truth is, that I am not, knowingly, acquainted with an individual member of that association, nor would I be understood to confound the main springs with the outer wheels, the missionaries with the fraternity at large, or the recruiting serjeants with those who have been only drilled to the first test, that plagiarism of an impious motto, which negatives one class of Christians, whilst it adopts Mahometanism and even Atheism. But I learn, upon the authority of the most respectable men of all persuasions, that they profess the established religion, as being the wealthiest and the strongest, without possessing much of its mild and tolerant

* The Irish Romanists have made a constant practice of giving an exaggerated statement of their own numbers, and of lessening that of the Protestants. It is well-known that they fall short of three to one. Doctor Burke, Romish Titular Bishop of Ossory, published a book in Latin, entitled *Hibernia Dominicana*, in the year 1762; and he states, that an exact enumeration was made of the Protestants and Papists of Ireland, in the year 1731, and that there were, actually, at that time, seven hundred thousand, four hundred and fifty three Protestants, and one million, three hundred and nine thousand seven hundred and sixty-eight Romanists; and he acknowledges, that the proportion on the side of the Protestants had very much increased, by the operation of the penal code and the charter-schools, between the years 1731 and 1762. By an enumeration made by Government in 1732, it appeared that they were in the proportion of two and a half to one.

spirit,¹ or feeling any real attachment to it, as a bulwark of Christianity. I understand that they are, generally, men of obscure origin, doubtful or desperate means, narrow intellects, no learning, without amenity in their manners, or sweetness in their temper.² Not possessing importance of themselves, they have recruited their lodges, by sounding the tocsin of loyalty, by raising a clamour of “Church in danger—Ascendancy—King William—the glorious memory,” and so forth. Not possessing much property themselves, they claim, in rebellion and warfare, to be the sole escorts of our properties, and the sole centinels of our laws; as if we knew not the value of our own property, of good order and of wholesome laws. As they pretend to uphold religion without Christian charity, so they feign to support order by violating the laws, and to preserve their country by rending it asunder.³

¹ I presume that he considers the United Irishmen, whom he defends in page 18, as possessed of the mild and tolerant spirit of Christianity; for he praises their *moral and intellectual qualities, their great talents and integrity*, and says that *their private views were not sordid or vindictive.*

² In page 59, he says, “that they profess the established religion, *as being the wealthiest and the strongest.*”

³ They professed the reverse, and their conduct coincided invariably with their professions.

For more than a year the Orangemen of Dublin discontinued their meetings, and relinquished every emblem and badge of their order, for the purpose of silencing the clamour, and removing the groundless prejudices and suspicions of the lower class of Mr. Scully’s brethren. This was done

They claim an exclusive patent for enjoying and trading upon all moral virtues, and all the blessings of civil society. They have thus, in an evil hour for the crown and the people, practised upon the fears or the ignorance of many humane and conscientious members of the Protestant establishment, and cajoled them (unawares) into the adoption of their initiating test, and the wearing of their colours and badges, in order to inveigle others, and to exaggerate the opinion of their numbers and their influence; and thus has an association been halloo'd together, impotent and incapable for every purpose, save civil broils and public mischief.^b

done with the laudable design of promoting concord and harmony. As Mr. Scully professes, at least, to write with the same view, it is surprising that he would endeavour to revive those prejudices and suspicions, by the most virulent and unqualified abuse of the Orangemen, and by imputing the most infamous motives and principles to them.

^b It should not be forgotten that Mr. Scully, who villifies the Orange Societies with much virulence and opprobrium, speaks of the United Irishmen in terms of esteem and respect; for he tells us in page 18, *that some of them undoubtedly were men of great talents and integrity, whose private views, he will not, contrary to his opinion, accuse as sordid or vindictive, and that he will not speak of their moral and intellectual qualities other wise than with respect.*

Now what could be more unjust, more sordid, more vindictive, and more immoral, than to form a conspiracy to overturn the Constitution, with the aid of a ferocious foreign enemy. The object of it was the gratification of inordinate ambition and avarice; and it could not be accomplished but by the massacre of every loyal subject, who should have virtue and firmness enough to oppose them, and by the confiscation of their property.

They,

They, and those of their colour, are associated upon the same principles and calculated (possibly without foreseeing it) for the same purposes, as the fanatical rabble, who, in the year 1800, confederated in London under the name of the *Protestant Association*, and then set fire to that Protestant city. We are told by our E. Burke, an eyewitness of their crimes, that “on pretences of zeal and piety, without any sort of provocation whatever, real or pretended, they made a desperate attempt, which would have consumed all the glory of Great Britain in the flames of London, and buried all law, order and religion, under the ruins of that metropolis of the Protestant world. All the time,” says he, “that this horrid scene was acting or avenging, as well as for some time before and ever since, the wicked instigators of this unhappy multitude, guilty, with every aggravation, of all their crimes, and screened in a cowardly darkness from their punishment, continued, without interruption, pity, or remorse, to blow up the blind rage of the populace, with a continual blast of pestilential libels, which infected and poisoned the very air we breathed in.”^c

^c This is an exact description of Mr. Scully’s pamphlet, and it seems to be well calculated to blow up the blind rage of the populace; but, I hope, and believe, that it will make no impression on the rational part of his brethren, who condemn it.

He thus describes those incendiaries and their System, “ their whole scheme of freedom is made up of pride, perverseness and insolence.—They feel themselves in a state of thraldom, they imagine that their souls are cooped and cabbined in, unless they have some man, or body of men, dependant upon their mercy. This desire of having some one below them descends to those who are the very lowest of all—and a Protestant cobler, debased by the poverty, but exalted by his share of the ruling Church, feels the full pride of his petty ascendancy.”

This portrait bears strong features of resemblance to the sorry faction here.—These anarchical associators fear to share with us the little meal of privilege that they feast upon, or to part with a scrap of their petty charter;^d they would,

^d Previous to the eruption of the rebellion in 1641, Mr. Scully's brethren enjoyed the following privileges: Peers and Commoners of their persuasion sat in Parliament—their Archbishops had metropolitan jurisdiction—their Bishops held consistorial courts—they had abbeys, monasteries and nunneries. Neither their Judges, their Sheriffs, Barristers or Justices of the Peace, nor even their Members of Parliament, were required to take oaths of supremacy and allegiance; though this was indispensable in Protestants. It is universally allowed that they were possessed of four-fifths of the landed property of the kingdom.

Thus it appears that Mr. Scully's brethren shared plentifully of the little meal of privilege which the members of the established church enjoyed, and that they had more than a scrap of their charter; and yet to use his own words, they *rusted upon mutual slaughter, and became rebels to their King.*—Page 64.

They

would, I fear, rather see their countrymen rushing upon mutual slaughter, and becoming rebels to their King, exiles from the land, or slaves to an invader, than that they should not bow beneath their yoke.—They are, blindly or traiterously, fighting the battles of French slaves in the disguise of the Royal uniform, and are, in effect, the most formidable enemies of their King and their Church.

It is true that, to lull the truly loyal to sleep, they have deemed it politic to send forth occasional ejaculations and strings of resolutions, couched in the common place phrases of loyalty, and subscribed either by dark initial letters, or by the names of some tools, whom we forget or do not know. But we know, that the rebel Parliament of Charles the 1st, who afterwards brought their Monarch to the scaffold, also scat-

They applied to Cardinal Richlieu, the French Minister, for assistance, during the progress of that rebellion—Would a restoration of these privileges satisfy or conciliate them? Mr. Emmett, whom Mr. Scully quotes, said, “I believe the mass of the people do not care a feather for Catholic Emancipation or Parliamentary Reform.”—Report of the Secret Committee of the House of Lords, 7th August, 1798.

Doctor M'Nevin declared before same Committee, “That the mass of the people of Leinster, Munster and Connaught, did not care the value of a drop of ink for Parliamentary Reform or Catholic Emancipation.”

M'Nevin and Emmett were leaders of the United Irishmen.

Would it soften the ferocity or check the sanguinary fury of the Scullabogue assassins, or the pikemen on the 23d of July, to let Mr. Scully sit in Parliament.

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tered about most servent professions of loyalty whilst they plotted revolution, and impudently issued proclamations in their King's name, for the purpose of levying an army against his Royal life and crown.—We know that every wicked junto professes the most plausible purposes to veil the most consummate villainy. And who will venture to predict that this associated rabble of armed fanatics, if permitted to gather strength, may not, in their characteristic fluctuation of plans and fickleness as to objects, rehearse one day the tragedy of the Cromwellian Revolution, or of the London conflagration?^f

I lament the importance of mischief, to which this faction, originally insignificant, has grown in Ireland.—They thwart the purposes of an enlightened Government : they paralyze the efforts of truly loyal subjects ; they bewilder and disconcert the public at large.—They appal their Fellow-Protestants throughout the United kingdom by chimerical stories of absurd plots and impossible cruelties,^g and they persuade even rea-

* Did not Mr. Scully's brethren do so in 1641. See Leland, B. v. ch. 3. p. 122. See their Remonstrance presented at Trim, 17th March, 1642. See also their Propositions of the 9th of May, 1642, and the answer to it of the Agents for the Protestants of Ireland.

^f The zealous loyalty of the Protestant yeomen, who fought bravely, and bled profusely, in 1798, in defence of the Constitution, and their conduct on the 23d of July, 1803, remove so foul a suspicion from them ; and not less than three-fourths of them were Orangemen.

^g Fatal experience proves that they are not chimerical, absurd, or impossible,

sonable Irishmen into the heart-rending doubt whether their native land is to be to them more secure and agreeable than a garrison town.^h Upon their principle of monopoly, they repine at our union with England, and they blow up national prejudices by a clamour against English connection.ⁱ By all these means, they deter the ingenuous and wealthy artists and capitalists of our sister island from bringing amongst us their skill, and their helps to our prosperity ; they fill the populace with terror and dismay by their nocturnal bustle ; by dividing the country, they give colour to the rumours of incendaries, and by exciting a belief of national weakness, they bereave the nation of half its natural strength. Do we not all know the sad effects of those rumours, which heat the fancies of our credulous peasantry, drive them from their homes to escape apprehended assassination, indispose numbers against our laws and government, and have forced thousands, in despair, to fly to the rebel ranks for shelter ? Do we not learn, from the authority of Mr. Emmett, in his examination by Lord Dillon before the Secret Com-

^h The present state of Dublin affords melancholy proofs of this. Who excites all this alarm, who occasions all these preparations against *plots* not absurd or chimerical, and against *cruelties* not impossible.

ⁱ They know that the Protestant religion, as established by law, is the only bond of union between the two kingdoms, and that their existence depends on British connection.

mittee of the Lords, that “ wherever it was at-
“ tempted to introduce an Orange Lodge, the
“ United Irish and friends of France always en-
“ creased very much ?^k

It is the intemperance, the petty tyranny and the factious taunts of those men, that could have excited for a moment in any, even the vilest, of Irish souls the unnatural feelings of rebellion against their King and alliance with Frenchmen, or caused in them a temporary hesitation between loyalty to the Crown and slavery to a foreign power—But they should know and will feel, that the Government does not sanction or protect one faction in its outrages more than it would another, and that they will gladly and vigorously co-operate with every man, be he of whatever class or sect, in crushing oppression and in chastising every infringement of the laws, let who will practise or perpetrate them.^l

I have

^k It is most certain that Orange Lodges never were formed in any country, 'till it had been a long time infested by a ferocious banditti, who committed nocturnal robbery and assassination, and spread universal alarm. A general insurrection was dreaded in the metropolis in 1792, when the House of Commons was burnt. The laws and proclamations of that period, prove the woeful state not only of Dublin, but of many other parts of the kingdom. It continued to grow worse till the eruption of the rebellion in 1798 ; and yet Orange Lodges were not formed in Dublin, as a measure of safety and precaution, till the month of January, 1798.

^l The present Government merit well this encomium ; particularly for the wisdom, the justice and the firmness which they manifested in pulling down the late horrid and unnatural rebellion, and in punishing the delinquents concerned in it. In effecting this they did not in the smallest de-

I have felt it to be necessary thus far to disclose the characteristics and consequences of this association, as I have learned them, for the common advantage of our Government, of our Protestant fellow-subjects and of you.—Of the Government; that they may see the wisdom of persevering in their firm and temperate conduct, which may render it unnecessary to recur at a future day to strong measures for humbling a faction so dangerous to the Executive authority—Of my Protestant fellow-subjects, because I love them as my Countrymen, and am happy of enjoying the friendship and intimacy of many of them; and because they are not, in general, apprized of the evils which the community suffers from this association wearing their name—I know that they are incapable, as a body, of exasperating the rage of party or of darkening the suspicions of ignorance; and I firmly believe that three-fourths of them reprove or despise those associations, as mere drudges of sedition. I do not know, nor have I heard of, a single gentleman, who ranks himself amongst them.^m They are to me as so many ghosts, much talked

gree depart from the forms of our very excellent Constitution. Should not their conduct, since the 23d of July, inspire every person with veneration for that Constitution, and for the members of the present administration.

^m Mr. Scully, after having undertaken to give a minute description of the designs, the principles, and the character of the Orangemen, betrays a palpable ignorance of them, because he says, that he does not know, nor did

talked of, but never seen. Would to Heaven that their mischievous effects were as difficult to be discovered!

For your sakes, my Catholic Countrymen, I have digressed into the history of this association, in order that you may not confound the tools of it with your Protestant fellow-subjects at large. That would be an act of gross injustice indeed—You will rather consider the steady equity and mildness of the far greater and better part of your fellow-subjects, than the violence or the vanity of the few. Beware of permitting your passions to hurry you into as great, or greater, excesses, than those of which you complain. Rather,

“ Fly from petty tyrants——to the throne.”

If your indignation is kept rankling by the disloyal activity of those seducers of the Protestant rabble, let it be assuaged by the recollection and the daily sense of the benefits, the kindnesses, the commiseration, and the affection, that you receive, and have long ex-

perienced he ever hear of, a single gentleman, who ranks himself amongst them. It is well known that numbers of the nobility and gentry were at their head.

To refute the groundless calumnies which Mr. Scully has uttered of this loyal association, I give in Appendix, No. III, some extracts from a book, entitled by him the *Fables of Musgrave*, and which it is generally believed contains a candid account of them.

perienced,

perienced, from Protestant hands and Protestant hearts. Let the momentary reign of factious men be forgotten, or passed over as a blank in the pages of your history. Let the record of our peaceable and legal demeanor, be presented without a blot or a stain.

“ Let their works declare them—Our free powers,
 “ The generous powers of the well-fashioned mind,
 “ Not for the tasks of their confederate hours,
 “ Lewd brawls and lurking slander, were design'd.
 “ Be we our own approvers.”

We have now reviewed our present situation in our country, and we see that (whatever improvement it may yet admit of) it is more prosperous and promising than it has heretofore been at any given point of time; that we ought to prize it at a high rate, and preserve it at every hazard. That the French are not, in fact, objects of our friendship, respect, or fear, appears from the foregoing short history of their connection with Ireland, from the character and opinions of their nation and their tyrant, from the conduct of both towards us, towards other nations, and towards their own country; from their inferiority to us in Egypt, in Ireland, on sea; from a comparison of our own strength, habits, and aptitudes with theirs. Your dangers are to be apprehended, principally, from intestine

intestine feuds.—I have exposed to the government, to my Protestant countrymen, and to you, the causes and the effects of those feuds.—I exhort you to blunt their asperity, and to temper their mischiefs, by a dignified forbearance or by silent contempt; by opposing mildness to their fury, and morality to their prejudices;ⁿ and, by reflecting, above all, that upon you rests the defence of your country.—I have shewn you, that where concord breathes, faction expires; where violence terminates, security begins.—You see that you may confidently rely upon the protection of your rulers, and upon the co-operation, in your country's cause, of your ancient and constant friends, the truly loyal men of every persuasion;—that every prospect of the future is cheering and animating; and that you will preserve your happiness and your honour, if you be not perverse or misguided.

I need not depicture the horrors of civil war—you have fatally beheld them.—I need not declaim to you against the miseries of slavery—but I have shewn that it is in your own power to avert both those, and all other public calamities.

ⁿ It is difficult to determine whom Mr. Scully means to designate; for we do not know any portion of Irish subjects whom we can accuse of *fury* for two years past, but the assassins on the 23d of July, 1803, and *mildness* would be a bad defensive weapon against their pikes; and morality would be but an indifferent coat of mail against them.

I have

I have addressed these pages of advice to you, my Catholic countrymen, in particular; not that I believe you can be capable, in the hour of danger, of swerving from your loyalty or your patriotism, of forsaking your King, or betraying your Country; but, because you are exposed to great and trying temptations, and your political situation is peculiar and critical, almost beyond example in history.—It is clear, that artful and insinuating emissaries of France will craftily endeavour (in Ireland as elsewhere) to inflame the public mind against the existing restraints and grievances of the day, such as they are, and of which every country has some share.—We have much to dread in our own credulity, rashness and resentments, acted upon by the narrow policy of a blinded faction, by the protracted rigour of a penal code, fabricated in angry times, and by the destructive machinations of insidious foreigners.^o May the Almighty inspire us with wisdom and courage, to guide and protect us through the dangers that threaten our country!

^o Are such observations intended to promote loyalty and concord? Mr. Scully says, it is clear that artful and insinuating emissaries of France will craftily endeavour to inflame the public mind. I am sorry to find, that there are such in Ireland, and natives too. By the appellation of insidious foreigners, he must mean the English; and since we are made one people with them by the Union, should not every loyal man endeavour to inspire the inhabitants of both kingdoms with mutual confidence and affection.

Perhaps I should rather have consulted my natural love of privacy; perhaps I should have more agreeably indulged my predilection for my professional studies, by either sending forth these pages of advice without a name, or by suppressing them altogether.—Few persons find more flowers and attractions in the

“ Secretum iter et fallentis semita vitæ.” —

than I do, or are more attached to the pleasures of tranquillity. But, whilst I love the sequestered paths of life, I have felt it a paramount duty, when my name or my exertions may possibly, on a solitary occasion in my life, be of the least public benefit, to give them to my country, and to forego lesser considerations. No man can flatter himself with the hope of being a neutral, or a quiet spectator of the invasion of his country, and of the confusion of civil wars—that hope would be absurd. Even quiescent loyalty will not be permitted in this season; and if these pages shall have contributed, in however small a degree, towards inspiring you with a perfect unanimity, and a resolution to present to your foe the formidable aspect of *active* and determined resistance, founded upon internal concord, I shall have

* Mr. Scully's reiterated list of grievances, disabilities, forfeitures, penalties, and incapacities, is not calculated to promote concord.

been amply rewarded. You will then have nothing to fear from invasion, and it will, probably, not even be attempted. I have endeavoured, to the best of my humble judgment, to point out the wisest and most glorious course for you to pursue; to inculcate the soundest principles for you to adopt—I should rather say, to persevere in, since they are only those of your ancient and accustomed loyalty.⁹ That course and those principles appear to me to be our only hope of safety from impending ruin; for, by our adherence to, or departure from them, will probably be decided the fate of ourselves, of the empire, and of civilized society.

Say, therefore, to French agents and agitators, when they talk to you of your grievances, that those can be discussed and redressed without French mediation—that the French themselves have not redressed, but aggravated, their own grievances and those of their subject countries—that the present times are widely different from those, in which some of you were fatally cajoled or goaded into a former rebellion—that your persons and property are now held sacred—that your rulers are more temperate and more wise, and you are become so too.

* See proofs of this in Appendix, No. I.

When they paint the false glories of French friendship and generosity, strip them of their glare by relating the facts contained in these pages; and add, moreover, that you are not strangers to the character of their General, Maffena, who is to lead this army of *Deliverers*: that he was so infamous in Italy for his pillage and peculation, that even his fellow officers deemed themselves disgraced by his conduct and presence; that they accordingly presented a Round Robin Remonstrance for his dismissal; that he was thereupon instantly cashiered, and has since lain concealed in the darkness of guilt, until lately dragged forth and selected as a veteran in iniquity, to act over in Ireland similar scenes of rapacity and ravage.

When they talk of the benevolence of their object in coming amongst us, tell them, that you are not ignorant of the recent boasts of that same Maffena, " That he would not promise to conquer these islands, or to keep them in subjection, but that he would so desolate them, that none of even the native inhabitants would think them worth living in."

When their blandishments have failed, they will apply themselves to the nourishing of your revenge, and remind you of your past injuries, and of the acts of violence perpetrated

by furious men against you ; but you will tell them calmly, that your hearts are not made of brass, nor your memories of marble—that you are good Catholics and Christians—that you pray for forgiveness for yourselves, and that your resentments against others are not eternal.

When they terrify you by the mention of the Orange faction, say that those associators can no longer goad you into rebellion—that their dominion and abuses are at an end—that they are frowned upon by our rulers, and repressed by our laws, which are administered with blended justice and mercy—and that you would now prefer fighting in the same ranks with the worst of Orangemen against invaders, than with the best of invaders against your countrymen—that you will no longer be divided, because you are determined to be no longer weak—and that you hope, by your firmness and harmony, to warn an invader, that he will find every point of our coast as impregnable as Gibraltar.

When they speak of the irritation of tithes,
of

¹ I presume that he alludes to the furious men who committed horrid massacres in 1798, in the county of Wexford, and in Dublin on the 23d of July, 1803.

Mr. Scully should recollect, that tithes were at first instituted by the Romish Church, and that every member of it is bound by its councils and canons, to pay them to his parish priest. Mr. Emmett, one of the Irish Directory, was so sensible that the collection of them was not attended

of the exactions of the parson or the proctor, and of the litigiousness of spiritual courts, say that you would, indeed, prefer a more convenient mode of collecting those tythes, so as that some fixed rate should be ascertained, agriculture permitted to expand, a litigation curtailed—but that you do not desire the abolition of tythes, nor are you prepared to encounter civil wars, or to wade through slaughter for moderate objects, which you may rationally expect, from the good sense of the gentry, the legislature, and the clergy themselves, to attain, in a peaceful and constitutional manner, before many years shall have elapsed.

When they dwell upon the charms of Catholic emancipation, and use it as a bellows to blow up the sparks of discontent into a blaze of disaffection; when they point at the foul stigma of unmerited suspicion, which the penal code casts upon your gentry and your whole

attended with injustice or oppression, that he gave the following opinion upon oath, before the Secret Committee of the House of Lords:—"I am sure, if tithes were abolished, the people on taking new leases, would be obliged to pay more in proportion for lands than the value they now pay for tithes. My wish was to destroy the present established church. The people were also taught to consider that when they became members of a democracy, their condition would be bettered." Fatal delusion ! Behold the woeful and calamitous state to which the French and the Dutch are reduced by their vain attempts to do so ! Observe this, and cherish the only constitution in the universe, that affords equal liberty and security to the peer and the peasant !

body ;

body ; when they advert to the acrimony which it fosters in the walks of private life ; when they remind you of the burdensome land-tax which you pay—in districts, where the lands are occupied solely by Catholics ; at the discretion of vestries, from which the laws exclude you ; for the repairs of churches, where service is rarely, if ever, performed, and then not half a dozen Protestants attend, and for which repairs another, and an ample, fund is already appropriated by the law ; when they speak of the hazard to your property and to the administration of equal justice, incurred by your disability to fill the situations of sheriff and under-sheriff, and all corporate offices ; when they call your attention to your general exclusion from professional honours, from the dignified posts in the state, and from all share of the legislature, whereby your public spirit is damned, your literary ambition quenched, and your honest industry is bereft of its fair rewards in the advancement of yourselves or of your children, when all those sore topics are assembled and arrayed on the side of your invaders—say to them in a firm tone, that those of your communion who feel those burdens and privations the most acutely, and both from public and personal motives, desire their removal

remove most earnestly, will not consent to be disturbers of their country's peace; that, above all, they will not seek redress at the expence of honour, of loyalty, and of humanity—Tell them, that we are, at this crisis, unanimous in a decided resolution to stand or fall with our country; that we care not, whether this resolution cuts off our retreat, or renders us peculiarly obnoxious to invaders, who profess our own religion; that we disdain to temporize, and will convince even the most prejudiced of our fellow subjects throughout the United Empire, that our fathers have long ago renounced all foreign views and connections, and that we look only at home for our relief from every grievance. That, even though that relief should be obstructed, for a moment, by an indigestible scruple of conscience, yet our suspense will not be measured by eternity—that none of us would amputate a limb because the smith should be tardy in filing off the chain that binds it—nor would we unroof our houses, because the slator or the thatcher should not choose to attend instantly to repair the slight injuries sustained in the recent storms—that we see an enlightened prince,

* This exaggerated picture of grievances and disabilities must operate, to use Mr. Scully's own words, *as a bellows to blow up the sparks of discontent into a blaze of disaffection*—See Page 77.

bekoning us to the banner of genuine loyalty, and drawing lessons of future policy from our patron, the gallant and patriotic Moira.^u

When these French emissaries endeavour to excite your envy of your wealthier neighbour, or his splendid establishments, tell them that you rather rejoice in the contemplation of it; that if, in the chances of life, some persons must be richer or more distinguished than others, still happiness is to be found in every station; that, if your neighbour has been exalted by the fortune of a die, of a lottery, or of a lucky speculation, thousands have been raised so before him, and the same may be your luck to morrow:—that, if he has amassed his wealth by the slow progress of industry, his success is a wholesome incentive to stimulate the labours of you and of your children;—that, if he has acquired it by descent, you see, in his enjoyment of his income, a pledge of the protection which the laws will afford to your children in the possession of whatever property you may earn and transmit to them.

When they shall have failed in this attempt to rouse the meaner passions, they will awake your sympathy for your poor and your poverty; and

^u This observation is not likely to induce Mr Scully's brethren to pray for the health of our gracious Sovereign; and yet the whole of the penal laws, except a *small remnant*, to use our Author's own words, have been repealed during his reign.

you will answer, that you also commiserate distresses, and relieve the indigent to the utmost of your ability—that there is an abundant stock of public and private charity amongst us, that our wealth is not deaf to the moans, or even to the sighs, of individual affliction, and that the avenues of bounty are ever open; that, though we have fewer opulent or resident gentry than the French or the English, yet we have not, actually, more poor persons than they or the other nations of Europe have, and that we are, comparatively, better circumstanced than most of them; that our wants are few, and our habits simple; that, though we have no treasures of gold, of silver, or of the fine arts, yet we are rich in our soil, in our climate and our internal resources; that our provisions are cheap, our crops abundant, and our pastures of surpassing luxuriance; that our rates of labour are doubled, and our cottagers infinitely better clad, fed and housed, within these last twenty years, whilst our population has increased one half; that most of our artizans are able to procure a week's subsistence for their families by the wages of three days; that much of our poverty exists only in appearance; that every humble hut is not to be noted as an abode of indigence, nor is raggedness to be mistaken for beggary; that we have no laws for cantoning our poor according to their locality, for with-hold-

ing from casual pity those, whose poverty is either their misfortune or their trade—that therefore poverty roams amongst us in glaring deformity of features, and, frequently with studied distortion, or mimickry of mutilation, and in raiment of selected wretchedness;—that it multiplies itself by presenting the same objects at our principal shops and places of public resort, who infest the chariots of rank and opulence, to exercise the sensibilities of the great, and remind them of the miseries incident to the lot of life; that, though we are far from being without a great portion of deplorable and extreme poverty (which no nation is exempt from) yet it will not appear, after all just deductions, that we are, in reality, burdened with more of it, than in that proportion to our very dense population, which the experience of nations, and the unchangeable laws of political economy assign.

Thus you will refute the sophisms, and baffle the machinations of the friends of France; thus will you furnish each other with antidotes to the poison of disaffection.

I know that many districts have been overrun by gangs of armed ruffians, Orange or rebel, who prowl amongst you in the silence of night and in the security of day, to gratify the love of plunder or the worst of passions. They invade your defenceless cottages, singly

or

or collectively; they violate your females, or they intimidate you from obeying the laws in the prosecution of criminals or the giving of useful information to magistrates; and generally, they exact from you, at the muzzle of a pistol or a blunderbuss, or at the peril of firing your thatched roofs, contributions for the support of what they style *their cause*, (to which you are strangers,) and promises upon oath to pay further contributions at places and times prescribed. Be not intimidated by those petty scourges of society,* for you have the means of crushing them in your own power—Let not their injunction restrain your appeal to the laws; keep no forced oaths, for they do not bind you; associate with your industrious neighbours for the defence of all; give every useful information to the nearest spirited magistrate, with boldness and candour, respecting the persons, descriptions and names of

* What a soothing description he gives here of the calamities which his brethren are suffering at this time! For he uses the present tense, who prowl—they invade—they violate—they exact. And yet in page 52, where he panegyrizes the present Government, he contradicts himself in the grossest manner; for he says, “you are not frightened from your houses, by outrages upon your properties or persons.”

In page 76, he says, “those associators (meaning the Orange faction) can no longer goad you into rebellion—that their dominion and abuses are at an end—that they are frowned upon by our rulers, and repressed by our laws, which are administered with blended justice and mercy.”

This is strictly true, and, consequently, Mr. Scully’s statement of outrages now committed by the Orangemen is false.

such of those ruffians as you know or suspect ; (and it generally happens that you do know, but dare not divulge, those particulars) lay plans for apprehending and assist in apprehending them ; and, when seized, deliver them up with firmness to the arm of justice—Let no menace, no entreaty, no solicitation or tampering, deter or entice you away afterwards from appearing, when necessary, to prosecute and bring them to conviction. Remember that you owe this duty to yourselves, to your safety, and to your country. If the warrant of the magistrate be too feeble, or the ordinary aid of law be too distant, for your summary deliverance from those robbers, you will obtain effectual military succour by applying to the General of your district, or to the commanding Officer in the next garrison town. You may be assured, that you will, thus, speedily, get rid of those gangs ; for, at the first alarm of personal danger or probability of being resisted, those guilty marauders will abscond from the country, leave you in quiet, and betake themselves to some other district and course of life.

I know also that many districts are oppressed by dangerous vagrants and that description of persons called *Cosherers*, who, without any certain calling, wander amongst you, upon unknown missions, or for dark and doubtful purposes—I do not incite you to become informers against the houseless and unprotected

unprotected stranger, whose only crime is his poverty, whose dwelling fire may have consumed, or terror may have chased him from. But I would guard you against the spreader of news, and the vehicle of idle rumours, especially of apprehended assassination or massacre—observe him with vigilance: question his drift, and scrutinize his real purposes: if you do not obtain a very satisfactory result, bring him before the nearest magistrate, or at least intimate your suspicions to your gentry and clergy.—I do not require you, to abolish wholly, those usages of hospitality, which you have received from your fathers, and which you retain as sacred—but, I conjure you, for the sake of your own safety, to suspend, for a while, the indiscriminate practice of it: it is, at all times, highly oppressive to your industry and hazardous to your quiet—entertain no person, whom you do not know to be well conducted in society and peaceably disposed. Tell such persons, that, in these critical times, every person ought to be found in his own parish, dwelling amongst his own relations, or engaged in some industrious pursuit or fixed occupation of life—that much suspicion and hazard attend their presence and society; that your reception of them may involve in it your ruin and that of your families, and that you expect that they will betake themselves elsewhere, Tell them
these

these things, and they will no longer solicit you to harbour or tolerate them amongst you.

Thus much for your defensive system—as for the rest, let your activity, until the moment of invasion, consist in the assiduous exercise of the industry appropriate to your respective callings, in adhering to the rules of order, sobriety, and peace, in practising the duties of civil life, and in vigilant circumspection against licentiousness and disturbances of every kind—assist the magistrate and officers of justice in the execution of their public duties, and give shelter or protection to no person, who has violated the laws, or is accused of having violated them. Reflect that the servants of the law are your proper protectors, and that the offenders against it are your natural enemies.

If any neighbouring gentleman should be entrusted by your King with the command of an armed association for the common defence, and should invite you to repair to the standard of your country, give your services and attendance with alacrity. If the law should call upon you to array yourselves for the defence of the empire, whether under the title of an Army of Reserve, or any other appellation, let your numbers fill the ranks with the strength requisite for the public safety. Reflect that, the sooner you learn the use and practice of arms, the sooner

sooner your country will be powerful, and the more firmly you will oppose an invader—thus, also, you will return to your homes and peaceful occupations the more speedily, and with the greater content and satisfaction, when the danger shall have been chased away. If you adopt this line of conduct, and shew yourselves to be at once an armed and an united people, we shall, scarcely, be molested by invaders, whose only hope and design, in coming to this island, would be, to augment confusion amongst us with facility, and to excite civil wars with impunity.

But, if nevertheless, the enemy should be so desperate and infatuated as to attempt an invasion of our island, if he shall think proper to make the hazardous push at our liberties and our happiness, whilst we shall be in so formidable an attitude of defence, let our first care be, to preserve internal harmony, order, and cleanliness amongst ourselves—let our next be, to discharge, with active zeal, the respective duties, whether military or civil, which chance, or previous concert shall have assigned to each of us. Those, whose lot shall have been cast in military duty, will receive, through the medium of discipline, more precise and authentic regulations than I can suggest. Those, who shall not be actually engaged in military duty, may serve their country with not less efficacy

by

by co-operating with the powers entrusted with the management of our defence, in the execution of such measures as shall, from time to time be recommended or deemed expedient. They will obey, with promptitude, the orders for that purpose, and adhere to the instructions, which the generals and the magistrates of the several districts will, in due time, take care to distribute and promulge. Those orders and instructions are founded in reason and good sense: they proceed upon the received maxim of daily life, *to sacrifice a part, in cases of necessity, for the preservation of the remainder.* They relate to the driving of our cattle and removing of all provisions and forage from within the enemy's reach, cutting off his supplies of subsistence, harrassing, watching and discovering his motions and his projects, breaking up roads and pulling down bridges in his line of march, annoying and alarming his detachments, from our mountains and our bogs, in our glens and our defiles, and other similar services, which are enumerated in those orders and instructions.

You will render those services to your country, not only without murmuring, but with alacrity. Remember that the law has ensured ample indemnity to individuals for the losses that they may, for the time sustain, in the necessary performance of those services—compensation

sation is given by the country to its children for the unavoidable sacrifices which she will call upon them to make for her preservation. No generous mind will elude, or shrink, from those sacrifices—rather let us partially anticipate the desolation which is menaced, by destroying our provisions and burning our dwellings, where necessary, than leave the one or the other for the subsistence or the shelter of a cruel and rapacious foe. No man will, I trust, be base enough to temporize with the invader—to bargain with him for a temporary safety or a ruinous neutrality, for whatever price or temptation—no man will be so vile, as to receive a bribe for short-fighted treason, to sell his birth-right for a mess of pottage, or to barter Irish honour for French gold. Ireland is celebrated for its high feelings of national honour. The collective honour of a nation is composed of the honour of its individuals; it is built upon their high spirit and disdain of mercenary interests; it endures only with the perfect devotion of all to their country's glory and welfare.

Armed, then, with those pure principles, and animated by those generous sensations, you will, my Countrymen, vigorously and successfully repel French invasion, civil wars, and slavery; you will maintain the advantages of your present situation, and preserve the certain road to

its full improvement ; you will reap, in security, the fruits of your honest industry ; you will enjoy the blessings of agriculture, the cultivation of arts, the repose of your families, and the firm protection of the laws. The honour and independence of these islands will be for ever secured ; the eternal praise and gratitude of the empire and of civilized society, will be amongst our rewards. Dangers will be for ever banished from our shores, and the wealth, the genius, and the refinements of less favoured countries will fly to our happy isle for quiet and security. Our generous patriotism will have raised a splendid monument of national unanimity and valour, more durable than the marble pillar—Its head shall reach the summits of our lofty mountains ; its extent shall be as spacious as the superficies of Irish soil. Our example will be a signal lesson both to tyrants and to free states ; it will exhibit to the one the dangers of excessive ambition ; to the other it will prove, that concord is the soul of national strength—and the instruction to be derived from it may save torrents of blood to humanity. Other nations will read with delight and admiration, that the people of a remote island, torn by the intestine distractions of centuries, full of mutual hatred, weakened by mutual distrust, and verging upon the miseries of semi-barbarism, did yet,

yet, in the moment of national trial, when their common honour and liberties were at stake, wisely and nobly bury all their differences in oblivion, and swear, upon their swords, to fight with emulous valour and to die in the same ranks, or to chase away a savage invader, his chains, and his barbarism.

Our descendants will read, with rapturous enthusiasm, the annals of the coming events, and their hearts will glow with gratitude to those, who shall have preserved this isle of incomparable loveliness, and proved themselves to be at once worthy of their high trust, and of the age they live in.

Oh ! by majestic Freedom, righteous Laws.
 By Heavenly Truth's, by manly Reason's Cause,
 Awake ! Attend ! be indolent no more ;
 By Friendship, social Peace, domestic Love,
 Rise, Arm, your Country's living safety prove,
 And train her hardy Youth, and watch around her Shore.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX.

NUMBER I.

THIS position of Mr. Scully, that the loyal ancestors of his brethren, fought for their hereditary king, against a Dutch invader and his hired battalions, requires some examination. It will appear, that their attachment to James II. was not the result of pure loyalty, but that it arose merely from a sinister design of making him the instrument of extinguishing the Protestant religion, and of separating for ever their native country from England; and recent experience proves, that they would make the alliance and assistance of Bonaparte, subservient to the same purpose.

They compelled king James, *their hereditary king*, to pass an act of attainder against every Protestant landholder in Ireland; for, he candidly confesses, in his Diary, found in the Scotch college at Paris, that he gave his assent to it with reluctance, and merely to gratify his Irish Roman Catholic subjects. They also introduced into the same assembly, which resembled the Back-lane parliament, convened by Edward Byrne, in 1792, a bill to make Ireland independent * of England: at first he hesitated to give his assent to it, because he hoped to remount the throne of England; and he feared that he should alienate such of his British subjects as were still attached to him.

During this state of suspense, they sent to him Nagle, a rigid Papist, whom he had appointed attorney-general, to inform him that they could do without him. In short, though he concurred with them in their wishes to subvert the Protestant religion, and in restoring the estates forfeited for treason to the old proprietors, they would not be satisfied with any thing short of a complete separation from England: such was the boasted attachment of Mr. Scully's brethren to *their hereditary king*.

* Independent is the expression adopted by our author, in page 40 advice to his brethren.

The earl of Desmond, and his confederates, who were all of the same persuasion of our author, entered into a negociation with Francis I. against their *hereditary king*, in 1523; and in the year 1745, O'Neil, O'Donnell, and many other chieftains, offered Ireland to the French king, provided the Pope gave his consent, and the French monarch having approved of it, sent over John de Montlue, bishop of Valence, to enquire into the business.

In the reign of Elizabeth, they introduced three Spanish armies into the South of Ireland; and O'Neil invited the Spaniards to invade the North.

In her reign O'Rourke, prince or chieftain of Bresny, was hanged at Tyburn, for having entered into a similar engagement with the king of Spain, against *his hereditary sovereign*.

The persons who attempted to proclaim James I. met with a vigorous opposition, and narrowly escaped assassination, in some of the principal towns of Ireland; and the insurgents assigned no other reason for it, than that he was not a Papist, and yet he was *their hereditary king*.

During the progress of the woeful rebellion, which broke out in the year 1641, the general assembly of the Catholics, actuated by religious rancour, offered to treat with Cromwell's government, against which our author inveighs so bitterly, sooner than submit to the authority of *their hereditary king*; and they opened a negociation with some of Ireton's agents for that purpose.

Such was their virulence against *their hereditary king*, Charles I. that they invited the duke of Lorraine to take possession of Ireland, having invested him with it by an instrument duly executed. They also drove out of the kingdom the viceroy of *their hereditary king*, the marquis of Ormond, by excommunicating such persons as should adhere to him, and at the same time they directed the people, "that in pursuance of the oath of association, "they are to observe such form of government as they shall prescribe, or until it shall be otherwise ordered by a general assembly."

To that great and illustrious character, king William, of glorious memory, whom Mr. Scully endeavours to stigmatize with the odious appellation of *Dutch invader*, we are indebted for the complete establishment of our constitution, which *his hereditary king*, a tyrant and a bigot, endeavoured to subvert.

Every person, let his religious persuasion be what it may, should rejoice, that by the revolution, the dangerous and exceptionable prerogatives of the crown were done away, and the rights of the subject were completely ascertained and secured.

To that great event we are also indebted for another blessing, the Protestant succession in the illustrious house of Hanover, which

which has afforded a race of monarchs, as distinguished for their domestic virtues, as for their justice, wisdom, and moderation, in governing the nation over whom they preside.

Is it possible, that a person of Mr. Scully's professional knowledge, cannot discern and appreciate the excellence of a constitution thus established; and if he does, how comes it that he endeavours to cast a slur on its glorious founder? does he consider, that in doing so, he reflects on the title of our present gracious monarch to the British crown?

If he imbibed such opinions from his *venerable guide*, *Arthur O'Leary*, I would advise him to renounce them. I shall end this with an observation in Mr. Hume's history on king William, and he was supposed to be a warm advocate for the Stuart family:

“ The prince of Orange throughout his whole life, was peculiarly happy in the situations in which he was placed—he saved his own country from ruin—he restored the liberties of these kingdoms—he supported the general independency of Europe.

“ And thus, though his virtue, it must be confessed, be not the purest which we meet with in history, it will be difficult to find any person whose actions and conduct have contributed more eminently to the general interests of society and of mankind.”

This stricture on his virtue, alludes merely to his acceding to the wishes of the people of England in taking possession of the throne of his father-in-law; and yet had he resisted their solicitation, the British constitution would have been annihilated, and he would not have merited those encomiums which Mr. Hume so justly bestows on him.

APPENDIX—NO. II.

AS there are principles inherent in the Popish religion, hostile to the Protestant state, which have manifested themselves at sundry times in an alarming degree, and have endangered its existence, coercive laws have been made in different reigns, to check its growth and to restrain its excesses.

The prospect of a Popish successor to Charles II. raised a general alarm, and occasioned the enactment of the corporation and test laws, which passed in that king's reign.

The object of the former is to exclude Papists from any office relating to the government of any city or corporation.

The purport of the latter, viz. the 30th of Car. II. ch. 2. is sufficiently

sufficiently explained by its preamble, “An act for the more effectual preserving the king’s person and government, by disabling Papists to sit in either house of parliament.”

The infatuated conduct of king James, blinded with bigotry, and inflamed with the criminal ambition of erecting a complete system of despotism on the ruins of the constitution, confirmed all the apprehensions of the dangers arising from a Popish king. On his abdication then it was perceived, that much stronger measures than any hitherto resorted to must be embraced, for securing both church and state against this enemy to civil liberty and pure religion; and that some fundamental constitutions of the realm should be adopted, which should remain unalterable, to secure posterity, as well as the present time, against the dangers of Popery, which had at last worn out the patience of Protestants, in repeated struggles to maintain their religion and liberties.

From the omnipotence of parliament, it is impossible to make unalterable laws; for every succeeding legislature has the power to alter those which the former had enacted.

Though the supreme power, which is vested in the king, cannot be restrained in ability, the person who exercises it may be withheld by the check of conscience.

The politicians of that day perceived, that they had no way of securing unalterably the Protestant religion, nor any way of binding posterity, but by binding the king; who, in succeeding times, might set himself against every attempt that should be made, even by his ministers and parliament to repeal the Protestant constitution, which they then intended to establish for ever. They stipulated therefore with the king, to bind himself in a solemn oath at his coronation, to do his utmost to maintain it; and they resolved, that the same oath, being taken by every succeeding monarch, should operate as a renovation of the obligation which they wished to perpetuate; so that whatever alterations in religion future parliaments or ministers might be inclined to make, the king might find a full excuse and justification in his oath, from which no human power can absolve him, for not acceding to them.

That part of his oath which respects religion, is administered to him by the archbishop, at his coronation, in the following words:

“ Will you, to the utmost of your power, maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the gospel, and the Protestant religion established by law? and will you preserve unto the bishops and clergy of this realm, and to the churches committed to their charge, all such rights and privileges as by law do, or shall appertain unto them, or any of them?” The fair

fair and evident construction of this is, that the king shall maintain the Protestant religion, *established by law*, and not *as shall or may be established by law*; for when this matter was under debate, some members wishing to give the king the fullest latitude to sanction any laws that may be afterwards passed for making any alteration in religious matters, contended that the paragraph should be worded in the last manner; but the amendment was rejected, for this reason, that the oath would be a nullity, and that the object of it would be defeated if that were admitted. It has been said, that some alterations have been already made in the indulgences granted to Roman Catholics; but there is a material difference between repealing the severe penal laws, and in giving the Roman Catholics such a degree of political power, as may enable them to subvert that constitution, to which they have ever shewn a decided hostility.

His Majesty's determination then, is founded on a conscientious adherence to the obligation of his oath, and it is exactly coincident with the opinion of the parliament that passed it into a law.

Mr. Scully makes light of this, and calls it a crotchet in the coronation oath, because he knows, that in his church it would be easily got rid of, by an absolution or a dispensation, which his hereditary king, James II. had recourse to, when in violation of his oath, he was proceeding to overturn the constitution in church and state.

A few instances will shew how common this practice is in the Romish church.

In the 15th century, Vladislaus, king of Hungary, made peace with Amurath, the Turk, and they bound themselves mutually, to adhere to it by a solemn oath: pope Eugenius IV. persuaded Vladislaus to violate it, having assured him, that no faith should be preserved with a heretic: and he sent cardinal Julian to him with an absolution from the oath.

The Hungarian monarch then perfidiously attacked the Turk, expecting to find him unprepared, but the latter was so fortunate as to gain a complete victory after a severe conflict, in which Vladislaus and the Cardinal lost their lives.

After a war of 30 years, the Emperor, and the Roman Catholic Princes of Germany, concluded a peace with the Protestant Princes in 1648, and they bound each other, by a solemn oath to the observance of it; but the pope pronounced the oath to be null and void, because it was made to heretics.

When Stanislaus lost the crown of Poland, in 1709, by the defeat of Charles XII. at Pultova, and Augustus, Elector of Saxony, regained it, the Pope absolved the Poles from the oath of allegiance which they had taken to the former; and Augustus

having previously taken an oath to renounce it for ever, he also obtained an absolution from it.

By the preliminaries of the treaty of Utrecht, between the emperor and Lewis XIV. it was agreed, that the Protestants of Germany should enjoy the same privileges which had been granted to them by the peace of Westphalia, in 1648; but the Pope having been informed of it, wrote the Emperor an epistle, in which he declared the treaty to be null and void, though it had been repeatedly ratified or secured by *an oath*. This epistle is to be found in vol. II. p. 179, of the Briefs and Epistles of Clement XI.

On the 2d of March, 1790, Mr. Fox made a motion in the house of commons, for the repeal of the corporation and test laws. In the course of the debate, Mr. Pitt said, “ That the point at issue plainly was, whether the house should, or should not, at once relinquish those acts which had, by the wisdom of our ancestors, served as a bulwark to the church, the constitution of which was so connected and interwoven with the interests and preservation of the constitution of the state, that the former could not be endangered, without hazarding the safety of the latter.” “ The extent of the right hon. gentleman’s principles went to the admittance of every class of dissenters to a full and complete equality, and even to the admittance of them who might *conscientiously think it their duty to subvert the established church*. The right hon. gentleman’s principles went, not only to the admittance of Roman catholics, but Papists, properly so called, (and he observed, that there was no material distinction between the two) the latter acknowledging the supremacy of a foreign, though an ecclesiastical prince, who, according to the right hon. gentleman, *with all the odious, detestable, and dangerous opinions, which belonged to his church, ought not to be kept out of the most important and official situations*; before the commission of some overt-act *against the constitution, manifested by force of arms in the open field*, by which the policy of prevention would be done away, and a dangerous door opened to the *absolute ruin of the constitution*.”

It is unaccountable, and no reason has ever been assigned, why this great statesman and his party, changed their opinion on so important a measure, in the year 1800. From the year 1792, to the year 1798, *all the odious, detestable, and dangerous opinions, that belong to that church, had appeared in treasonable conspiracies, and by the commission of overt-acts against the constitution, manifested by force of arms in the open field*; and yet, instead of confirming him in the opinion which he then pronounced with so much energy, in condemning Mr. Fox’s motion, they seem to have operated so strongly as inducements to sanction and embrace it,

it, that he relinquished his situation, because he could not succeed in carrying the object of it into effect.

In the year 1790, when Mr. Pitt opposed Mr. Fox's motion, peace existed among the different nations of Europe, because treaties were strictly adhered to, and the people obeyed their respective rulers; but when he was so warm an advocate for repealing the corporation and test laws, Jacobinism had tainted the principles of the subjects of most European states, had encouraged them to resist their respective governments, and to trample upon all constituted authorities; in which having succeeded, they became an easy prey to the French. It cannot be forgotten, how narrowly England escaped from the intoxicating poison of Jacobinism; and it is well known, that popery is the quintessence of Jacobinism in a Protestant state.

APPENDIX.—NO. III.

ADDRESS AND VINDICATION OF THE ORANGEMEN.

TO THE LOYAL SUBJECTS OF IRELAND.

FROM the various attempts that have been made to poison the public mind, and slander those who have had the spirit to adhere to their King and Constitution, and to maintain the laws:

We, the Protestants of Dublin, assuming the name of Orangemen, feel ourselves called upon, not to vindicate our principles, for we know that our honour and loyalty bid defiance to the shafts of malevolence and disaffection, but openly to avow those principles, and to declare to the world the objects of our institution.

We have long observed with indignation, the efforts that have been made to foment rebellion in this kingdom by the seditious, who have formed themselves into societies, under the specious name of United Irishmen.

We have seen with pain, the lower orders of our fellow subjects, forced or seduced from their allegiance, by the threats and machinations of traitors.

And we have viewed with horror, the successful exertions of miscreants, to encourage a foreign enemy to invade this happy land, in hopes of rising into consequence on the downfall of their country.

We,

We, therefore, thought it high time to rally round the Constitution, and there pledge ourselves to each other, to maintain the laws, and support our good King against all his enemies, whether rebels to their God or to their country ; and, by so doing, shew to the world, that there is a body of men in the island who are ready, in the hour of danger, to stand forward in defence of that grand palladium of our liberties, the constitution of Great Britain and Ireland, obtained and established by the courage and loyalty of our ancestors under the great king William.

Fellow-subjects, we are accused with being an *institution*, founded on principles too shocking to repeat, and bound together by oaths, at which human nature would shudder ; but we caution you not to be led away by such malevolent falsehoods ; for we solemnly assure you, in the presence of the Almighty God, that the idea of injuring any one, on account of his religious opinion, never entered into our hearts ; we regard every loyal subject as our friend, be his religion what it may. We have no enmity but to the *enemies of our country*.

We further declare, that we are ready at all times to submit ourselves to the orders of those in authority under his Majesty, and that we will cheerfully undertake any duty which they shall think proper to point out for us, in case either a foreign enemy shall dare to invade our coasts, or that a domestic foe shall presume to raise the standard of rebellion in the land. To these principles we are pledged, and in support of them we are ready to shed the last drop of our blood.

THOMAS VERNER,
EDWARD BALL,
JOHN CLAUDIUS BERESFORD,
WILLIAM JAMES,
ISAAC DE JONCOURT.

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